NEW MASSES

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HITLER HOPES FOR STRIKES

by THE EDITORS

THE TRUTH ABOUT FORD'S PRODUCTION

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AT WILLOW RUN. THE MYTH OF FORD EFFICIENCY

by A. B. MAGIL

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN JAPAN

by ANDREW J. GRAJDANZEV

SECESSIONISTS: 1943

THE ANTI-ROOSEVELT PLOT IN THE SOUTH

by ROB HALL

Also in This Issue: "Emerson at War" by Samuel Sillen; "Drama's Greatest Teacher" by H. W. L. Dana; "Why They Fear 'Mission to Moscow'" by Joy Davidman.

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from: *Richard O. Boyer, Earl Browder, Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson*

Dear Reader:

As you may already have heard, Goebbels' shortwave station, the Deutschlandsendsender (DNB), broadcast on April 17, at 11:15 p.m. a diatribe against New Masses, urging that America suppress this magazine.

There was nothing accidental about it. The Nazis have good reason to fear New Masses' influence. It is one of America's staunchest win-the-war publications.

A magazine Goebbels wants killed is one that should live, should flourish. New Masses is such a magazine.

But tragically, it is in grave danger today. Finances may kill it. The magazine, by its nature, cannot net sufficient income through advertising, which is the financial basis of all commercial publications. New Masses, therefore, runs into an annual deficit which this year totals $40,000. To date, it has raised only $21,000 of that amount. There are reasons. Chief among them are the necessarily high taxes which its readers are paying. Another factor is this: you have been lulled into a sense of false security about New Masses because "somehow or other it has always pulled through." True -- and that was due only to the loyal support of its readers. But this year is its gravest crisis. Many of its readers feel that "the other fellow" is in a more favorable financial situation and will come to its help. But there are few of its supporters in the "upper brackets." The overwhelming majority are people of modest means and it is from them -- from men and women like you now reading this letter -- from whom it gains its strength. You have it within your power to see it live and grow -- or die.

We know that this entails an additional sacrifice. We know, too, that it is not entirely a sacrifice. It is an investment in victory -- an investment in your security, an investment in your future -- yours and your children's. It is one of the guarantees that we will achieve a true win-the-war policy, a guarantee that the President's program will not be subverted by the defeatists and inner enemies of democracy.

No -- "sacrifice" is not the word to use. "Investment in victory" is closer to it. That is what your immediate support of New Masses will mean. That is what its survival amounts to.

Otherwise Goebbels will have won his point. How would you feel if one of these days your shortwave radio carried another broadcast from Berlin saying: "We are glad to announce New Masses is no more." We are sure you would never forgive yourself. You can guarantee that this will never happen by letting New Masses hear from you immediately.

Sincerely,

Richard O. Boyer

Earl Browder

Vito Marcantonio

Paul Robeson

(FOR YOUR RESPONSE, PLEASE USE COUPON ON PAGE 27)

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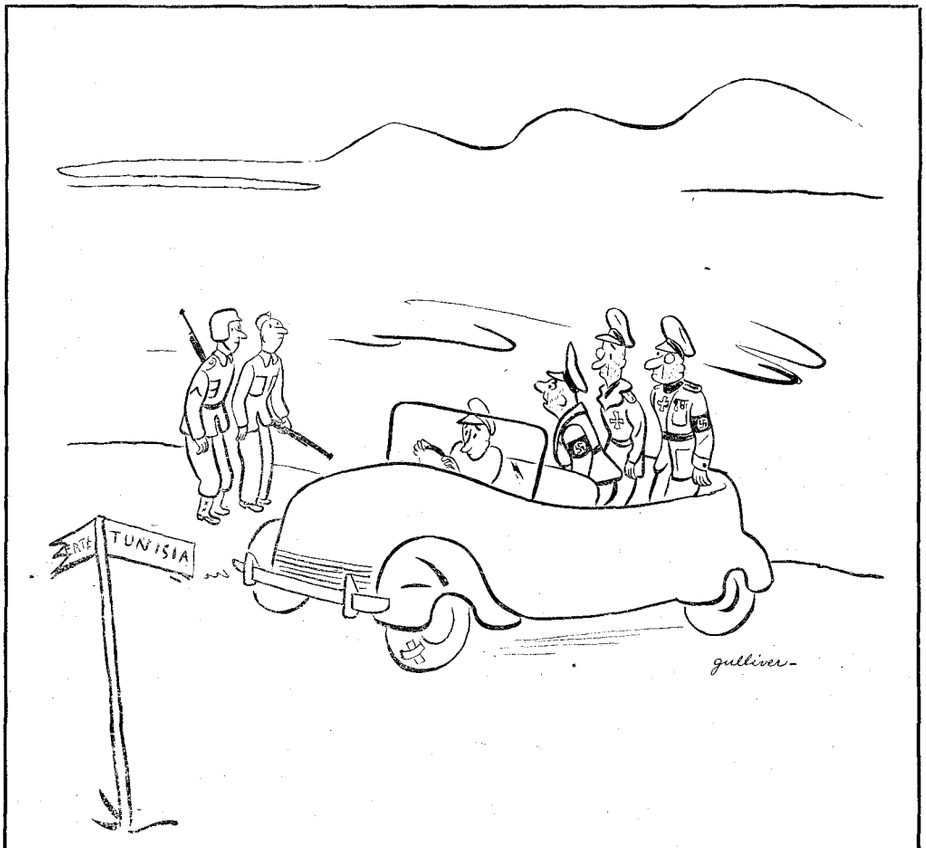
NM SPOTLIGHT

Mr. Wallace's Great Speech

IN ANOTHER of his beautifully phrased speeches—the stylistic tokens of a deeply felt humanism—Mr. Wallace has defined the century of the common man as it should embrace millions of Latin Americans. His sense of the intermingling of old and new cultures, of the blending of the ideas and ideals of Europe with those of the Americas, places the Vice-President among those great liberal statesmen who comb the world for its democratic treasures without first applying stupid political tests before they can be found acceptable. This is the internationalism of the scientific spirit that will not discard the discoveries of a Pasteur because they were made by a Frenchman, or refuse to incorporate in our own culture the music of Shostakovich because it was composed by a Soviet citizen. Here we believe is Mr. Wallace's distinguished contribution to the greater solidarity of the United Nations.

In the same vein we would emphasize Mr. Wallace's remarks about the Communist Party of Chile for the benefit of those crochety-minded men who hold positions of influence in this country. In a Catholic country the Vice-President finds the Communists along with other groups "so friendly to the United States, so eager to serve the cause of world-wide democracy, so anxious to produce results in the field, mine, and factory." This observation will come as a shock to Francis Biddle, the Attorney General, but it happens to be the plain truth about Communists everywhere, whether they be Chilean, Costa Rican, or members of the same party led by the Kansan, Earl Browder. As we see it, the Vice-President gave Dr. Goebbels a resounding slap in the face certain to be heard over the whole globe.

In the spirit of good neighborliness, Mr. Wallace also brings to the attention of the country the poverty that haunts workers below the Rio Grande who, despite malnourishment and pitiably low wages, do not hesitate to tap the rubber of the malaria-infested jungles, or mine the tin of Bolivia where terror and repression have not infrequently reigned. Too little is known here of the tremendous undertaking of Latin Americans on behalf of victory. Yet Latin American production of strategic materials has in large part sustained our factories and helped in the output of weapons without which our military operations would lag. The Vice-President has done a distinct service in heralding these facts. We can only urge that his recommendations for the welfare of Latin American economy will not be projected too far into the future but that many of them will be recognized as immediate necessities for the welding of closer hemispheric unity.



"Mein Herr—will you kindly direct us to the place where one surrenders unconditionally?"

Visit from Chile

SINCE Chile broke relations with the Axis several months ago, she has given full support to the war despite powerful obstacles. Externally the country had two major problems: (1) a long, undefended coastline on the Pacific and, under the exigencies of war, little hope of substantial military aid from the United States; (2) close economic ties with a powerful neighbor, Argentina, ruled by a clique wedded to fascism and the Axis. Internally Chile had an enormous German population concentrated in strategically important regions; and the full quota of Nazi fifth column organizations, some of them well armed—as well as a strong and dangerous indigenous reactionary movement finding its natural support and alliance with the Axis policies. The people of Chile overcame these obstacles only in small part because of diplomatic assistance from the United States. The overwhelming part of the job was done in Chile itself; it was done by the Democratic Alliance, a federation tying together all democratic parties and groups, and by the carrying through of a consistent, unhesitating anti-fascist policy.

The Alliance derived its strength from the fact that *all* anti-fascist groups supported it. One of the most influential members of the federation in the forefront of its fight to break relations with the Axis was the Chilean Communist Party whose general secretary, Carlos Contreras Labarca, is vice-president of the Democratic Alliance and a member of the Chilean Senate. He has recently arrived in this country to study conditions here and to exchange views with officials and popular leaders. We extend a warm welcome to this distinguished good neighbor.

It is encouraging to note the reception given to Contreras Labarca by government

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officials in Washington. Vice-President Wallace, Nelson Rockefeller, Adolph Berle and other members of the State Department held conversations with him and he was scheduled to confer with both Secretary Hull and Undersecretary Welles. In this case our government is carrying out

Carlos Contreras Labarca

the declared policy of supporting the internal unity of all anti-fascist forces in nations opposed to the Axis—a policy forcefully presented in Sumner Welles' letter to Earl Browder with respect to unity in China and later fortified by President Roosevelt himself in connection with French unity. In few places have the potentialities of an all-inclusive democratic front been so well demonstrated as in Chile. We in America can learn much from this leader of Chilean unity now visiting us.

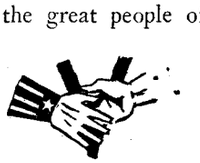
Remember May 25

THE acute struggle of a presidential campaign is under way in Argentina. President Castillo and his followers have named their candidate, a wealthy, notorious pro-fascist, Robustiano Patron Costas. They are using every device to prevent formation of an opposition coalition representing the overwhelming majority of Argentina. Inevitably the government began by attacking the Communists, arresting and imprisoning leaders like Victorio Codovilla, Rodolfo Ghioldi, and Juan Jose Real, harassing their press, and attempting to force other groups to reject Communist participation in the unity movement. The next victim chosen was labor: many trade union leaders have been jailed or exiled, and Castillo's labor man, Domenech, tried to destroy the 400,000-strong Confederacion General de Trabajo by refusing to accept the authority of its newly-elected secretary, Francisco Perez Leiros. Provincial elections have been tampered with, opposition groups have been illegally replaced by Castillo thugs.

The ruthlessness of the measures adopted reflects the desperation of the ruling oligarchy. But, unfortunately, they also reflect the incomplete unity of the opposition. While progressive labor and political groups have tried strenuously to bring about a unified coalition of all anti-Castillo elements, the results to date fall short of requirements. Enormous demonstrations in favor of the United Nations, the strength of the May Day celebration, the enthusiasm which accompanied the playing of Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony clearly indicate the sentiments of the masses who make up Argentina's electorate. However, this anti-Axis sentiment has not yet been translated into the political organization needed to defeat Castillo's nominee at the polls. Important elements in the principal opposition party, the Union Civica Radical, as well as in the Socialist Party, have adopted the fatal attitude of refusing to cooperate with the Communists or the trade unions. In consequence genuine national unity to isolate the small but powerful government group has not yet been achieved.

TO DEFEAT this Axis political bridgehead on the American continent is of vital importance in mobilizing the entire hemisphere. For Argentina is the citadel of the Falange and the center of Axis espionage and propaganda. The democratic people of Argentina can be helped by their good neighbors in the other Latin American republics particularly those in the United States—and that aid may tip the scales against Castillo.

Therefore it is especially important that American labor respond to an appeal just issued by Lombardo Toledano, president of the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL). In a cabled message sent throughout the hemisphere he has called "on the trade unionists of Latin America and their brothers in the United States to contribute to the unity of the fight against Nazi fascism by expressing their solidarity with the pro-democratic people of Argentina on May 25, the Argentine national holiday." "This date," the message reads, "should be made the occasion of great public demonstrations and special editions of labor papers, supporting the labor and national unity movement of the Argentinians. . . . Thus the national holiday of Argentina will be converted into a demonstration of continental solidarity with the great people of our sister republic to the south and will contribute to the unity of the anti-fascist struggle on the whole American continent."



Candidate Encina

DIONISIO ENCINA, secretary general of the Communist Party of Mexico, will be a candidate in the forthcoming elections for the federal Chamber of Deputies from the Laguna region in north central Mexico. Backed by almost all of the farmers' organizations of the district as well as by labor groups in the local townships, his candidacy is said to be virtually certain of success. This prediction is hardly surprising when it is recalled that Encina led the famous movement in 1936 when the cotton workers, overriding the giant plantation owners, secured a redistribution of the land among their own cooperatives. Some 30,000 cooperatively organized peasants received the land at that time and were in later years joined by another 15,000 farmers. Today they are preparing to return to the Chamber of Deputies the man who in 1936 led them out of feudalism.

The Nazi Achievement

BARBARISM is scarcely the word: it does not connote scientific precision. Our language does not contain a word that measures up to the daily deeds of the Nazis. Molotov's note to the United Nations—describing the Hitler system of slave labor—should be studied by every American. If there were ever any doubts in this country concerning the nature of the Nazi beast, this should end them. Hundreds of thousands, more likely a number of millions of Soviet citizens—men, women, and youths scarcely more than children—have been forcibly transported into Germany to be sold in the slave marts, their names erased, known only by numbers given them. They toil their lives away as beasts of burden. The Nazis worked it on a grand scale: "To carry into life this monstrous program of enslavement tremendous official machinery was set up," the Molotov note says. Gauleiter Fritz Sauckel was given the post of "Chief Commissioner for Utilization of Labor Power." The slave trade proceeded through agents who ransacked the able-bodied population of all occupied Russia. The *Deutsche Ukraine Zeitung* speaks of "700,000 Ukrainians" sent to Germany; the *Minsker Zeitung*, on January 14, says that "about 2,000,000 persons were dispatched to Germany from occupied regions in the East" during 1942. Anybody resisting was shot on the spot. For instance, Molotov tells that in Gzhatsk a group of "seventy-five peaceful residents" who refused to report at the gathering center were shot. Similar instances are too frequent to enumerate.

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SHORTLY after Molotov's note was handed to the diplomatic corps in Moscow, word came to America of the final extermination of Warsaw's Jewish ghetto. More than 40,000 Jews were killed in a ten-day battle; the Nazis advanced through the streets in giant tanks, leveling stores and houses, and "silencing the feeble guns of the defenders in the final stage of extermination," the United Press reports. "Every living soul was either butchered or uprooted and moved to some other part of the country."

The list piles up: Rotterdam, Lidice, Warsaw—the daily tortures and executions in all oppressed Europe. History has never seen anything like this, but because it hasn't, Americans dare not harbor any delusions that it isn't happening. Full responsibility must be pinned upon the Nazi command of the German army. Molotov also considers responsible all those Hitlerite officials who have in any way participated in these atrocities.

Molotov is keeping the record straight; it is necessary that the rest of the United Nations do likewise. (Undoubtedly the peoples of occupied Europe are listing the names of all responsible for future consideration.) Justice demands that the American and British governments join with the Soviet to set up a joint apparatus whereby proper penalties will be guaranteed those responsible for these unprecedented crimes.

Not Ruml or George

BY THE time this issue of NEW MASSES is off the press, the tax bill passed by the Senate, embodying the Ruml plan or some variation of it may have been enacted by the House. If so, we urge President Roosevelt to veto it. The bill is simply legalized larceny on an ultra-grand scale: At a time when our boys at the front are buying victory with their blood and when our production soldiers are having their wages limited, the government is being bilked of nearly $10,000,000,000 so a few wealthy individuals may feather their own nests.

Furthermore, passage of the bill will compel the enactment of new stiff income taxes which are likely to hit the low and middle brackets harder than the upper groups. The total result will be to shift the tax burden to those Americans who already are bearing a disproportionate share.

Senator George's "compromise" proposal was in some respects even worse than the Ruml plan—which is why the National Association of Manufacturers swung behind it in a last-minute pressure campaign. The George amendment would cancel seventy-five percent of the 1942 tax in-

Hitler Hopes for Strikes

THE latest issue of the little "me-too" journal published by the so-called construction workers—the "union" organized by John L. Lewis and handed over to Danny Lewis with precise instructions to back up big brother John—contains an article which omits some pertinent names. It showers soft words on the AFL's vice-president Matty Woll and on those "many" members of the United Automobile Workers (meaning Walter and Victor Reuther) who support the mine president's disastrous and abortive policy of welching on labor's non-strike agreement. However, the article was written before Emil Rieve and James Carey joined the spree of wrecking directed against CIO President Philip Murray and labor's unity with the administration in the fight for unconditional victory.

Likewise, it is unfair not to mention other members of the new coalition around Lewis and his lose-the-war offensive. Such names deserve mention: David Dubinsky and his friends who direct the Social-Democratic "New Leader"; Norman Thomas and his pseudo-"Socialists"; and William Hutcheson, the "two-fisted" president of the carpenters' union who boasts of his connections with the Hoover-Taft Republicans, and whose every action has served to weaken the labor movement. These most virulent Red-baiters, sponsors of Alter-Ehrlich, outstanding haters of the war effort, raise high the banner of Lewis.

At St. Louis on May 7 Earl Browder lashed out at these men who abet our enemies. "I declare that every effort to break down the no-strike policy is a blow for Hitler and his Axis partners, is treason to the people, is a betrayal of labor itself," said Mr. Browder. "The no-strike policy, absolutely necessary to victory, is labor's own unilateral policy, which it decides upon itself. . . ." To those like Reuther, "less bold and more hypocritical than Lewis," who demagogically urge the unions to use the strike threat to prod government into recognition of labor's grievances, Browder responded: "The threat of strike, used as a bluff, brings nothing but complete demoralization to the trade unions. Little strikes, the next step in the poker game, explode into uncontrollable mass strike movements, into the real thing, and the 'bluff' was itself a lie. . . ." For "any conditional form of placing the no-strike policy means to destroy it, means to turn the labor movement against its own war, means to surrender the working class into the hands of its worst enemies. . . ."

Against the bankrupt and criminal policies of the Lewis-Reuther gang, Browder contrasts the course followed by Philip Murray. "There is more leadership in Phil Murray's little finger than there is in the whole hulking body of John L. Lewis." President Murray has correctly taken as his premise organized labor's imperative desire to prosecute the war to final victory. Above all, Mr. Murray understands, as Browder says, that "no man and no union can join the opposition to our Commander-in-Chief, which is sabotaging the war effort, without betraying labor and the nation."

Lewis and Reuther and their followers shout empty phrases about injustice and inequality of sacrifice. Mr. Murray firmly and effectively mobilizes labor to the main task. The test of leadership rests in what it accomplishes. Mr. Murray has overcome misinterpretations of the April 8 hold-the-line order: steady pressure by the CIO and by certain sections of the AFL recaptured for the War Labor Board the essential power to correct gross wage inequities. This victory for the Board is a guarantee of survival in the face of Lewis' attack—and a serious defeat for the Lewis forces. (As we go to press, Lewis has retreated again: he has "extended" the strike truce to May 31.) By emphasizing the President's promise to roll back prices, Mr. Murray and the CIO have spurred the Office of Price Administration to venture its first hesitant steps toward reduction of price ceilings, and to propose a subsidy program to assure price roll backs.

To be sure, at its May 14 conference in Cleveland, the CIO executive board demanded further steps toward the reorganization of the nation's economy on a full war footing. It urged freeing the War Labor Board from James Byrnes' power to review Board decisions. It stressed the need for deepening and widening price and rationing controls. It insisted on the passage of an equitable tax bill and the defeat of the dishonest Ruml grab. It reiterated the necessity of granting labor equal representation in the war agencies. It condemned the sales-tax plot. It assailed the Connally-Smith bill to destroy the unions—the result of Lewis' phony "militancy." Support of the President was solidly expressed in the resolution submitted to the CIO executive meeting at Cleveland.

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debtedness and provide for the payment of the other twenty-five percent in two installments over the next two years. It would mean a twelve and a half percent increase for every taxpayer, including the millions in the low and middle brackets. Moreover, as Senator George indicated, the Treasury would hardly be able to impose new levies on top of this twelve and a half percent increase. Thus nothing would be done about meeting President Roosevelt's request for $16,000,000,000 in additional revenue to finance the war.

A veto of the Senate-House bill would not necessarily kill collection at the source, the principle which the Rumlites played up to conceal the reactionary character of their proposal. It is possible to institute a collection at the source system, providing for regular deductions from payrolls, on the basis of the present revenue laws. At the same time the administration should organize a campaign to secure enactment of the best of the bills—the Doughton measure—placing tax payment on a current basis. That measure would cancel 1942 taxes for the 7,000,000 in the lowest brackets and would result in a total cancellation of only nine to fourteen percent of all net taxable income.

Racism by Quota

JIM CROW still dominates our army to a sickening extent. For a Negro, induction means that he will be quarantined in a separate regiment, assigned for the most part not to combat duty but to less honored though not necessarily less dangerous forms of service. It often means indifferent or hostile white officers, while the Negro has little or no chance to become an officer himself.

And yet Negroes are eager to serve in our army. They do so resolutely, knowing that Hitlerism and Jim Crow are essentially the same, and that defeating the first is the sure and only road to destroying the second. They demand rightly that we help them destroy racism at home, as part of the greater battle.

Instead of help, the New York Selective Service Authorities have added insult to injury with their announcement of a quota of twenty percent on Negro inductions. The figure itself is an objectionable one, Negroes constituting only seven percent of the city's population; and it is particularly offensive in that large numbers of Negroes are being drafted to permit favoritism to a white group—young fathers. But the real outrage is the existence of a quota at all. It is criminally unconstitutional for any branch of our government to make the color of a man's skin the basis for classifying him, whether as soldier or worker or citizen.

The Constitution and the people of this country recognize no second class citizenship; and the war recognizes no second class death. We are fighting those who build ghetto walls of bricks and dead men's bones; we must defeat anyone who attempts to create a spiritual ghetto with walls of red tape.

Exclusive!

Underground

THE small northern French coastal town of Douarnenez is famous for two things—its sardine fishers and its revolutionary traditions. The fishermen and the women in the fish can factories learned how to organize, how to resists the big companies' attempts to dictate excessive working hours and small wages. There was a progressive administration in Douarnenez which built a model hospital, beautiful school, and a big library.

When the Nazis occupied the town in summer 1940, they tried to win the fishermen's cooperation. But the men and women of Douarnenez refused to collaborate with the invaders. The Nazis had made big plans regarding the sardine output of Douarnenez, but the fishermen brought home only very small amounts of fish. They were threatened by reprisals, hostages were taken; still Douarnenez provided only about thirty percent of what it sent to the markets of Paris in other times.

However, another business increased with every month of German occupation: smuggling out of France those people who were hunted by the Nazis or who wanted to join the Fighting French in England. Almost every week boats from Douarnenez set sail for England. They had to avoid the German patrol boats and the Nazi airplanes, and many of the fishermen died in these enterprises. The Nazis took hostages. It did not help. In the late fall of 1942 the Nazis mobilized all able fishermen of Douarnenez and ordered them to do the fishing under martial law, commanded by Nazi naval men.

Then the women of Douarnenez stepped in. The German authorities charged with the fulfilling of the "fishing plan" found out too late that the women working in the factories where the sardines are salted or put into cans and barrels, systematically spoiled the fish by adding chemicals or piercing cans. The Gestapo arrested forty-five women for "sabotage of the German war effort" and sent them to the concentration camp at Nantes. When the population of Douarnenez thereupon gathered before the town hall, Elite Guard men fired upon the men and women, killing or wounding several of them.

From that day—in January 1943—partisan groups have made their appearance in the rocky coastal region of Douarnenez. German coast patrols have been attacked, a blockhouse with a German sentry was burned down, trucks carrying fish cans for the German authorities were blown up. The commanding general of the German Coastal Command issued a special manifesto threatening "total extermination" of all villages and towns giving shelter to guerrillas. Punitive expeditions were sent out to liquidate the guerrilla troops, which are very small but all the more mobile.

The Nazi Coastal Command issued a manifesto: "German authorities will deal mercilessly with everyone who attempts to hamper the German war effort. Traitorous acts such as have happened in the past, especially in and around the town of Douarnenez, will not be allowed. The murder of twelve German soldiers will be avenged. . . ." The shooting of several relatives of alleged partisans was ordered. The townspeople's answer to that came when a large quantity of "sardine" boxes stored in the German "Kommandatur" blew up—they had been filled with explosives.

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TUNISIA SEQUEL

By the Editors

THE reunion in Washington of the President, the British Prime Minister, and their military entourage foreshadows the further refinement of our battle strategy. At this writing, except for Mr. Churchill's assurance to his Home Guard that the plans under consideration are global in scope, no official communique has been issued and speculation is hardly in order. But whatever is being devised will undoubtedly fit into the over-all pattern of attack laid down at the Casablanca sessions last January. There, if we recall the announcement following the dramatic North African conference, the combined staffs surveyed the war projects to be undertaken during 1943. One of them—Tunisia—has now been brilliantly completed, and only the march of future events will reveal the nature of this latest exchange in the White House.

Tunisia is a dazzling star in the Allied firmament. Its conquest brought closer the day of Hitler's ultimate defeat. But Tunisia also provided the incontrovertible proof that victory is the sweet fruit of bitter, hard, and relentless fighting; that there are no diplomatic short cuts to military success. Every phase of the struggle for the south shore of the Mediterranean depended for its outcome not only on the utmost coordination of our arms but on the firm conviction that no surrender can be unconditional unless it is won at the point of a bayonet. That may seem axiomatic now. But there are those who have been a long time in arriving at that conclusion and how well we have mastered it will determine in large measure the results of the tasks that face us on the continent.

WHEREVER political policy was infected with the virus of Darlanism the course of the battle was delayed by endless wrangling, by bargaining which encouraged the enemy to believe that the Americans and British would not undertake those supreme risks spelling Nazi doom. The end of the North African campaign should be the signal to those merchants of expediency as a method of warfare, to those traders in easy, cheap victories that their day also has ended. For on the eve of momentous action all those invisible garrisons of Europe who will unite with our forces must feel that we have come to help them on behalf of that genuine democracy for which they have performed remarkable feats of heroism. The embattled Frenchman, for example, needs now to have the fullest confidence in our intentions. He has viewed with trepidation the dream world in which the State Department lives—a dream world where the fantasies of moldy minds seek to prevail over the sternest realities. Charles de Gaulle is the acknowledged leader of France. Let there be no evasion of that key fact lest we be spitting in the faces of the Fighting French National Committee which now has the support of every major underground movement as represented in the new Council of Resistance. *And the underground movement is France.* The delay in achieving full agreement between de Gaulle and Giraud is a product of the blindest prejudices in London and Washington. What we do now to help weld the bonds of all anti-Vichy fighters will be carefully scrutinized by Italians and Greeks, Dutchmen and Belgians, Yugoslavs and Spaniards—all the millions who have harassed and stoned the Hitlerites—as a token of how firmly we hold to the ideals expressed in the Atlantic Charter.

THAT is an immediate problem for solution which Tunis drove to the forefront. Our victory there also underscores the urgency of military moves in Europe decisive in character and coordinated with the operations of the Red Army. Hitler will not remain quiescent. He will again seek to grasp the initiative although his freedom of action has become more limited. In a last desperate plunge he will try to rid himself of his major headache—the Eastern Front—while he carries on a renewed negotiated-peace campaign through the Madrid pipsqueak, Franco, and the Nazi constellation of satellites.

To judge from the vigorous countermeasures of the Red Air Force, the Wehrmacht is pushing preparations of some large scale offensive in the immediate weeks. *Red Star*, the Soviet Army newspaper, has warned that a concentrated attack is to be expected. And Ralph Parker, in a dispatch to the New York *Times* from Moscow (May 15), says that little credence is placed there "that the Wehrmacht or the Luftwaffe has been so enfeebled by winter losses, or the German Command so embarrassed by the menace of a second European front that a third great German offensive can be ruled out. The Germans, it is believed, will go on fighting boldly, recklessly, and cunningly to the end. . . ." We may be sure that Soviet might is ready for whatever Berlin will throw at it. The supreme question is how quickly the British and American armies will exploit the Tunisian victory for a momentous drive at the heart of the Nazis. This summer can be Hitler's last. The fighting may be prolonged and difficult. But the morale and strength which the Allied forces displayed in North Africa, and the eagerness with which the assemblage of armies await action from bases in Great Britain, is evidence that a vast loop of steel and fire can be forged around Hitler's fortress and then drawn tight to crush it into oblivion.

NOR should we forget our Chinese land front. The participation of General Wavell and other commanders of the Indian theater in the White House conference is indicative that plans are in the making for an increased tempo of warfare against Japan. Several newspapers and commentators have tried to angle Wavell's presence in Washington as meaning that help for China is in dire conflict with the storming of Europe and therefore the European project should be discarded for an offensive in the Pacific. In reality there is no conflict. The strategy of licking Berlin first will in the future guarantee that necessary concentration of power to ensure the Mikado's defeat. Dispersal of our forces at this point would be Hitler's greatest desire. Nevertheless, more can be done to assist our Asiatic ally. It is imperative to retake Burma and the road over which materials to China must flow. And this must be done on the basis of some well coordinated plan worked out among the Chinese, the Indians, the British, and Americans. The tragic mistakes of the past must be avoided like the very devil himself. The fate of India, which has been left solely in the hands of unsavory politicos in London, is crucial in waging any genuine coalition warfare in the Far East. Britain's unilateral course in India lost Burma for the United Nations in the first place. And the retreat last week of British troops from Burmese positions taken last December is proof once again that an offensive in that part of the world will be jeopardized while the people of India are not permitted to rule themselves and therefore form a discontented rear. There is also great need to invite the Chinese as full-fledged participants in the Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee and all its subsidiary agencies. Until now the Chinese have not been included and they have been left to shift for themselves. The result has been a confusion of strategy in the Pacific with unnecessary wrangling over materials and manpower.

We have passed the first test of blood and fire. Our men, our arms, our

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fighting spirit are matching those of our other allies on all the world's freedom fronts. We have the right to be of good cheer. It would be disastrous, however, to linger in clouds of optimism. We have only thus far met the enemy on a small front compared to the extensive and coiling battlelines which will face us in Europe. The trials ahead will be bitter; the casualty lists long. But all these things will be as nothing if within the nation itself there is an unbreakable unity rooted in the will to victory no matter the price. That will be the test before the home front in the next few weeks when Hitler will be calling on his fifth column reserves and their dupes for more determined action. We have already seen them attempting a suicidal strike movement that would envelop the country in crisis, undermine the President's military plans, and initiate the internecine warfare that has given Berlin one victory after another. Here is a threat as challenging as Tunisia in the blackest days.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

CRACKING FESTUNG EUROPA

I CONTINUE to maintain that victory in 1943 is possible. By this I mean victory in the European theater to a degree where the beast will be cornered in its lair, still fighting for a little time but without any hope of survival, abandoned by most of its satellites. That can still be achieved before the sands of 1943 have run out. I maintained this *before* the brilliant Allied victory was consummated in Tunisia. After that victory the conditions are still more favorable.

The Axis has lost its stranglehold on the Mediterranean shipping lanes, and our feed-line to the Middle East has been shortened by some 8,000 miles, which is probably equivalent to a three-fold increase of our tonnage in that area.

Italy, its island bastions, its ports, and its navy are now within reach of our bombers, which neither the Luftwaffe nor the Regia Aeronautica seems able to protect. The Italian troops of occupation in southern Europe must have lost much in reliability, as far as the Axis is concerned, in the face of the disaster befalling Italy on its very threshold. These troops will have to be bolstered by German troops, especially in Yugoslavia. Italy's shaky position undoubtedly has already affected conditions in the Balkans, as well as the future course of Turkey. Thus it may be said in a general way that the Allies' triumph in Tunisia has shaken to their foundations the Axis positions south of the great mountain barrier which guards Europe from the south and is forcing Germany to concentrate upon the defense of its "body," *i.e.*, the part which is north of that barrier. The octopus from now on will be forced to pull in its southern tentacles and withdraw into the area bordered by the Eastern Front, the Atlantic, and the southern European mountain barrier.

That area is what Goebbels and his agents call *Festung Europa*. Our problem is to attack and crack this fortress. Crack it this summer before the eastern wall hemming it in (walls both *guard* and *imprison!*) has been weakened by the coming great German onslaught against the Soviet Union. The eastern wall of the fortress now is alive with offensive possibilities. It not only may fail to protect Germany, but it can *cave in and crush it*, providing the pressure on it from the Nazi West is not too strong. This pressure can be lessened to a sufficient degree only by Allied pressure against the opposite, or Atlantic, wall of *Festung Europa*.

IN VIEW of the problem before us, the paramount question is—how much of a real fortress is *Festung Europa?* On the answer may depend the course of this summer's campaign in a worldwide sense.

Voices from Berlin tell us that the fortress is impregnable. So says Goebbels. But more professional opinions are also being expressed. One example was the April 10 broadcast of the Nazi military commentator General Dietmar, who asserted that "in many respects the new Atlantic Wall resembles the old one, but in every respect is a far more gigantic edifice." By "old one" he meant the famous Siegfried Line built in 1937-39 to surpass the Maginot Line in both depth and power. Let us now indulge in a little calculation, taking the Maginot Line as a basis.

The Maginot Line stretched to a length of about 225 miles, and required the excavation of some 12,000,000 cubic yards of earth. Concrete was laid to the tune of 1,500,000 cubic yards and was reinforced by 50,000 tons of steel and iron. Assuming for a moment that the earthwork was done under uniform conditions of fairly easy terrain (which was certainly not the case), it would have required no less than 27,000,000 man-hours. And to lay such an amount of concrete would have consumed another 75,000,000. Thus the "shell" of the Maginot Line alone absorbed per mile, approximately 444,000 man-hour and 5,300 cubic yards of concrete.

Now the Siegfried Line with which Dietmar compares the "Atlantic Wall" is another story. It stretches to about 360 miles. We find some data on it in the book by Captain Kuehne, of the German General Staff, written in August 1939. The construction of the Siegfried Line required 6,000,000 tons of cement, *i.e.*, about one-third of Germany's annual production, and 700,000 cubic yards of timber. Protective obstacles required 3,000,000 rolls of barbed wire alone. Every mile of the Siegfried Line absorbed 16,000 tons of cement and 2,500,000 man-hours.

With these figures in mind, let us look at General Dietmar's assertions. He would have us believe that in about a year, or even less, the Germans have built an Atlantic Wall "far more gigantic" than the Siegfried Line, stretching some 3,000 miles along the Atlantic seaboard of Europe. This is telling us that the Germans in a year have laid about 150,000,000 cubic yards of concrete, which would involve the use of some 50,000,000 tons, although German pre-war production amounted to only 12,000,000 tons. Of course, not even the output of occupied countries could have filled the huge gap. The work "reported" by General Dietmar, furthermore, would have involved 7,500,000,000 man-hours, or the uninterrupted work of 750,000 workingmen during a whole year.

NOW we must also consider that the Atlantic seaboard is not the only facet of *Festung Europa*. Its periphery stretches to a length of about 8,000 miles, from Narvik to Salonika, disregarding the curving shoreline. At this point arithmetic turns into astronomic figures and reduces the whole question of an effective "wall" around Europe *ad absurdum*. And remember, we have not even begun to talk about equipping and arming this "wall." The Maginot Line had sixteen pill-boxes per mile and the Siegfried Line had more than sixty. From where would the armaments

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and the personnel come to arm and man such a "wall."

So talk of any solid zone of fortifications around Europe is so much hooey. What has been done is to fortify the most likely points from an invasion viewpoint. This, of course, leaves the unlikely ones to be attacked—which is an old military rule.

There is something particularly sardonic in this German babble about the "Atlantic Wall." Here are the master-minds who derided all "wall concepts" in defense and who worked out a war doctrine negating the linear defense—talking about walls and supposedly putting their faith in a concept they themselves destroyed! This wall can be cracked now. The cracking must be done from the place where our base is nearest to the wall and where nature supplied it with a narrow "moat" but not with bastions. The place is the stretch between the mouth of the Schelde and the Seine. In the south the "moat" is wide and the bastions reach to the clouds.

From England to France is the operational direction for the main attack, with holding operations against the southern wall and a mighty blow by the Red Army against the eastern. If this is done, victory in the main will be won before the second world war becomes longer than the first, *i.e.*, before the turn of the year.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

FOOD FOR PRODUCTION

Washington.

The story most frequently heard about the current international food conference is that even high administration officials, including those who will attend the meeting at Hot Springs this week, have no idea what it is all about. The usual response to questions is the off-the-record: "Why bother about it—the whole thing will be so dull." The prevalent lack of interest in the conference seems to result from pessimism over the ability of delegates to solve problems which must inevitably arise from the discussions.

Officially, the word goes out that the deliberations will cover all matters concerning food, postwar distribution, rehabilitation requirements accompanying the peace, and present agricultural needs to win the war. The central problem, it is predicted, will revolve around postwar trade relations. Carry-overs of pre-war thinking continue to be deep-rooted; many delegates cherish ideas of preserving and fortifying monopolies, of hanging on to the favorable positions in international trade their countries enjoyed in "the good old days."

The present need is to raise more and more food. Many experts suggest that a good deal of the food required by the American army in Europe could be produced in North Africa, thus solving transportation difficulties. Such a program raises the question whether, once the war is over, North African producers will put an immediate halt to their agricultural ventures. Otherwise, North Africa will become a competitor in the world market. British and American defenders of the 1920-39 status quo fear that all-out food and agricultural production to win the war will increase competition and weaken British and American trade. Logically, those who think only in terms of future markets are reluctant to grant financial help to colonies and smaller nations, to South America, North Africa, and the Middle East for the purposes of boosting agricultural production, even though this increase is vital for victory.

Little hope is expressed that the conference will solve this knotty problem. To the question of why the conference was called at all, the answer most frequently heard stresses the urgency of obtaining greater amounts of food and other agricultural products, as well as to build reserves to care for the populations in occupied and exhausted countries once they are liberated.

The ban on press attendance caused much discussion, even though the original order has been greatly relaxed. No doubt certain delegates representing smaller nations are not anxious to have possible conference disagreements publicized. No doubt, also, fear that reports of differences of opinion at the conference might unnecessarily aggravate United Nations relations, contributed to the decision to exclude the press. The fact remains that most of the hollering about "freedom of the press" comes from defeatist newspapers which seize on the chance to belabor the administration.

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Without resort to subsidies, any substantial roll-back of food prices is impossible. Under present price-control legislation, Congress has ordered that prices paid to farmers for agricultural products be maintained at parity or, if levels are higher, at the maximum price reached between Jan. 1 and Sept. 15, 1942. With payments to farmers fixed by law, any roll-back of retail prices will automatically pare down the margin of profit considered equitable for wholesalers, retailers, and processors. Only if the government steps in with subsidies can food prices be lowered within the profit system.

The following example indicates how subsidies would work. Admittedly oversimplified, it still tells the story accurately enough for the purposes of illustration. At present, let us say, the Office of Price Administration sets the maximum processor price on a particular product at forty cents per pound. This ceiling takes into account farm labor costs, parity, overhead, and all other relevant charges, and allows the processor a fair profit. The wholesaler, paying the processor's price of forty cents a pound, is allowed a twenty percent markup—he sells the product to the retailer at forty-eight cents per pound. The retailer, entitled to the same markup, sells the product to the consumer at fifty-eight cents per pound.

Let us further suppose the government paid subsidies, in this case five cents per pound. The processor's price to the wholesaler would then be thirty-five cents per pound, marked up twenty percent to the retailer at forty-two cents per pound, to the consumer at fifty-one cents per pound. The consumer would save the difference between the unsubsidized price of fifty-eight cents and the subsidized price of fifty-one cents, or seven cents a pound. If the processor's price before the subsidy had been thirty-five cents, a five-cent subsidy would save the consumer eight cents. It is estimated that a $500,000,000 subsidy fund (sufficient to assure roll-backs on all essential food prices for a year) would save consumers over $750,000,000 annually. The cost of such a program would be defrayed by the taxpayers—but much of the cost could be recovered by plugging tax loopholes and increasing rates on upper bracket incomes. The net saving would amount to well over $250,000,000 each year.

At the moment Congress shows marked

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hostility to the administration's request for a subsidy program. The arguments of the opposition narrow down to the usual denunciations of "paternalism," "dictatorship," "government interference in private enterprise," "destruction of individual initiative." The opponents, with their irrelevant and fallacious arguments, have no more love than John L. Lewis for OPA and price-control. They—the defeatists and special interests factions concerned only with super profits—would condemn the nation to inflation. The struggle to force Congress to respond to war needs now includes support of the administration's subsidy program.

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LAST week, Washington workers protested the continued refusal of the Capital Transit Co. to hire Negroes as bus drivers despite orders to correct this policy issued by the War Manpower Commission and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. Negroes and whites picketed in various parts of the city, and paraded to a mass meeting addressed by a number of speakers, including Rep. Vito Marcantonio.

This protest against discrimination was seized upon by various groups to stir up racial tension. Only the superb self-discipline of the Negro population prevented serious riots—a danger not yet ended. Rumors circulated that rioting had broken out, that streetcars had been overturned, that the Negro people were about to massacre the white population, that Negroes were "taking over" hotels, restaurants, and apartment buildings. Government employes were warned to stay off the streets. School children were told to beware. Taxi drivers, guards at government buildings, schoolteachers, messenger boys, department store employes were used to spread the inflammatory stories.

In a front page editorial the Washington *Star* commented: "This last flood of rumors . . . may have been started by reports of a perfectly orderly and legal demonstration. . . . The department of social welfare of the Washington Federation of Churches finally conducted an objective investigation of the rumors and prepared a report. . . . Parts of it follow: 'Police, race relations personnel, and other community authorities believe that the extent of the rumors puts just "ordinary gossip" out of the question. In other words, they believe that some group of persons spread the stories deliberately. . . . These rumors were not accidental. . . . They were planted. They were extremely vicious. . . .'" (The Washington *Post* and *News* also carried editorials on the subject.)

The source of the rumors cannot be proved. But they bore the familiar earmarks of propaganda from elements that welcome provocation as a means of hampering the war effort, preserving and heightening discrimination, and discrediting the administration. They were in the pattern of the "Eleanor Club" smear of several months ago, directed against Mrs. Roosevelt and, through her, against the President. John O'Donnell, the sneering columnist of Cissie Patterson's *Times-Herald* and the New York *Daily News*, lost no time blaming the Negroes who protested the transit company's discrimination. "There would have been a nasty and bloody mess," he wrote, "because the Washington situation that night scraped the raw and sensitive skins of the race and color issue—the demand by colored groups, as they put it, 'to end Jim Crowism in Washington.' . . . They carried such banners as 'Negroes Drive Tanks in Tunisia. Why Not Drive Buses in Washington?' There was talk that colored groups would demand service in the dining rooms and grills of Washington's swankiest hotels. There were placards demanding equal service in the capital's cafeterias and taxis."

By intimating the rumors were true, O'Donnell attributed the ugly lies to the orderly and legal demonstrators. The *Times-Herald* certainly made no contribution to preventing violence.

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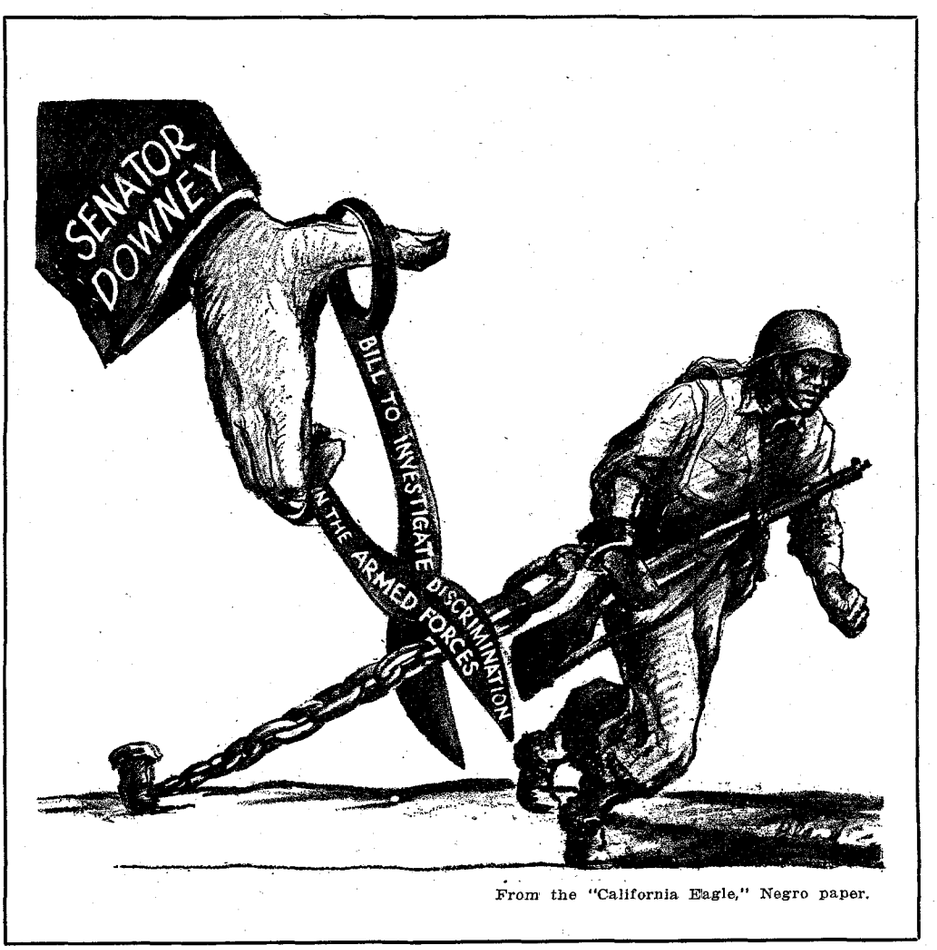
SEN. Sheridan Downey of California has introduced a Senate resolution to investigate discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces. Hearings will be held shortly—if the resolution receives needed public support. . . . The petition ordering the discharge of the anti-poll tax bill, HR 7, introduced by Representative Marcantonio and supported by a bi-partisan coalition in the House has been completed. The final House vote on the legislation takes place on May 25, with debate the preceding day. Supporters of the poll tax now plan to defeat the bill by burdening it with amendments. However, the chances of passing the measure are extremely favorable—if congressmen's mail sufficiently reflects the demand back home for affirmative action. . . . In NEW MASSES of May 11, I pointed out that war production still falters. The Kilgore sub-committee of the Senate Military Affairs Committee has just issued its important first interim report on war mobilization. It concludes: "Either we go forward to undertake the integration of basic mobilization policies in the fields of manpower, production, and stabilization, or we will continue to proceed haltingly from one emergency to another. The time has come—indeed, it has all but passed—for basic policy integration. We cannot accept the doctrine that we are in the middle of a war, and therefore cannot undertake to effect total mobilization. That is a doctrine of despair. It must be discarded if we are to forge ahead to victory."



From the "California Eagle," Negro paper.

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SECRET WEAPON

Now, peculiarly now, it is relevant to remember that the Nazi army has yet to conquer a single nation by use of military force alone. Despite its vaunted reputation, despite the legend of its irresistible power, it has yet to defeat a single army solely by the force of arms.

The first foe it met in which the decision was confined to military power, in which it did not have the aid of prior treason, it was stopped in its tracks.

And yet the Nazis, who have still to win a military victory in the long-term sense, have been on the verge of conquering the world—and indeed still have a chance of doing so unless we learn the nature of their secret weapon, a weapon that has no connection with the military. For this Nazi army, which has never crushed a foe by purely military means, has occupied a dozen countries, enslaved a continent, killed and tortured millions.

Now, more than ever in the past, we must understand the nature of the Nazi strength, a strength which in the last analysis does not depend on guns. If we do not understand the nature of this secret weapon we may lose just at the moment that we are at the very crest of military power, just at the instant that the enemy seems irrevocably within our power. As this is written we have the Axis near the beginning of defeat and the opening of a second front in Europe will guarantee that defeat. But the Nazis have won before when the military odds were overwhelmingly against them and they did not win by military genius, bravery, or skill. Will we permit them to do so again?

A few days before I left Germany in the fall of 1940 I interviewed a Dr. Sollet, an official of the German Foreign Office. Already it seemed as if the United States would ultimately enter the war and Dr. Sollet was telling me why Germany would defeat us.

"There will be important groups in the United States," he said, "who will be afraid to defeat us. They will be so afraid of the people and of the gains they would make in victory that they will prefer a Nazi victory."

At that time the American press was filled with stories about a German secret weapon which, it was said, paralyzed the will to resist. It was reported that a famous Belgian fort had been captured through its use. Dr. Sollet, a thin, pale little man who had been an instructor at Northwestern University, laughed when I asked him about this.

"Our secret weapon," he said, "is capitalizing on the class conflict. We win through the fear of those who are afraid that their own country will win. You can't win because you can't unite."

Neither then nor later did I believe that Dr. Sollett's Nazi formula would defeat the United States. And yet, in thinking it over, one must agree that it accounts for past Nazi successes and that if there are any more successes to come Dr. Sollet's secret weapon will account for them. Fear of the people created Hitler and fear of the people won him Europe. He was financed and put into power by industrialists afraid of labor unions, rising labor costs, and above all afraid of socialism. Munich became a synonym for treason and Czechoslovakia was sold out because Chamberlain and Daladier were afraid that democratic forces would be strengthened if the Nazis were weakened. Spain, as we all remember, was defeated because the democracies preferred a victory of the Axis to a victory of the people. France fell because of an undeclared civil war, because its leaders sold out, preferring fascism to democracy. Essentially the same thing was true in Norway, Holland, Belgium, Yugoslavia, and Greece, and it had been true before that in Austria and Hungary. Hitler assaulted Europe when his potential opponents had overwhelming military superiority—had everything for victory—save the will and the desire.

Now, we, too, are again in the position where we have everything for victory. The only thing that can wrench it from us is our own fear of it. The only device through which Hitler can avert defeat is not a military device but the use of his old formula, the use of those who fear the people more than they fear national defeat. Once more we have an overwhelming preponderance of military strength and as we prepare to invade the continent even the pessimistic are inclined to concede a military victory. But as victory comes nearer, Hitler relies increasingly on his secret weapon—his friends within the nations fighting him.

They will intensify their efforts as the second front approaches actuality. Often they will not attack a second front but rather will attack our allies, serving Hitler's desire to fight his foes singly rather than together. Often they will press for action in the Pacific, not out of a desire to defeat the Axis there, but intent on disrupting the pattern for victory. Often they will use such cases as that of Alter and Ehrlich, the Polish fascists, and frequently they will weep over the fate of fascists posing as democrats who finally come to grief. Sometimes they will attack labor in the hope of disruption while their counterparts in labor will attack the administration with the same goal in mind. Always they will seek to delay and confuse and always they will attack the Soviet Union. They gave Hitler his past victories and if he scores another they and not the Nazi army will be responsible. Their numbers are legion, but the people can and will defeat them. But not by silence. Speak up now, as never before, in favor of the Roosevelt-Churchill policy of a swift second front in Europe.

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WHAT'S HAPPENING IN JAPAN

"Stringent control" is necessary to keep down Nippon's "dissatisfied elements"—and there are more than Tokyo admits. How Hirohito uses Martin Dies. Potential allies among the Japanese.

SINCE the Pacific war cut off Japan almost completely from the outside world, very little has been known about the domestic situation within that country. Some information is now being obtained, largely from Japanese newspapers, on the basis of which it is possible to form the following picture.

In general, one may say that on the ideological front the same trend observed in Japan in recent years continued after Dec. 8, 1941, although the muzzling of public opinion and efforts to create an ultra-nationalistic psychology were intensified after the start of the Pacific war.

On Dec. 19, 1941, Michio Iwamura, Minister of Justice, revealed that "promptly following the start of war the government arrested the Communists and other radicals without any loss of time" and removed "dangerous criminals" to remote places. Many foreign correspondents writing from Japan used to assert that Japan had no Communists or radicals—but the Minister of Justice thought otherwise.

On Dec. 28, 1941, the government announced that "groundless reports are known to be in circulation [in Japan]. Stringent control will be exercised to remedy this situation." This "stringent control" included "two years' imprisonment with hard labor or a fine not exceeding 5,000 yen for those spreading false alarms even without malicious intent." Hideki Tojo invited fifty-three chiefs of police to a luncheon in August 1942, and told them: "Needless to say, you must in the future exert more resolutely than ever stricter surveillance with respect to military, diplomatic, economic, and thought war in order to thoroughly crush America and Britain."

Home Minister Yuzawa gave the following directions to the same chiefs of police: "In these times, any dissatisfaction felt by the people must be erased. . . . Of course, stricter surveillance must be exercised on those who injure the unity of the people, who interfere with the peace and order of the people behind the home front. . . . Opposing elements must be forcefully dealt with. . . ." According to one Japanese commentator, he "emphasized that all precautions must be taken to avoid inception of dissatisfaction on the part of the people defending the home front."

THE budget for 1943-44 calls for an appropriation of 42,000,000 yen for "prevention of spy activities." This shows the scale of operations against suspected elements in a country where it is supposed that everyone has "a fanatical devotion to his country" and will "fight to the bitter end" "even when eventual defeat stares them in the face."

On Jan. 28, 1942, Hideki Tojo, now recovered from his unexplained illness, told the Diet that "the Japanese government from the very beginning has taken steps to punish those who do not understand the true motives of our country." All "dangerous criminals," "Communists," rumormongers, dissatisfied elements, spies actual and potential, those who misunderstand Japan's motives—all these if still at liberty were to be either imprisoned or made harmless in some other way.

In order to mold public opinion, stricter supervision of the press was introduced. After December 1942 "publications must obtain permits from administrative offices for the approval of material to be published." The Premier or the Home and Education Ministers can command publishers to sell or jointly manage an enterprise "whenever adjustment is considered necessary."

In May 1942 a single body, the Japan Patriotic Literary Society, was set up to include journalists, authors, and so on. At its opening, Okumura (probably Shintaro), vice-president of the Information Board, said that the present war is "a mental campaign to overcome various difficulties existing in political, literary, and other cultural fields which are based on the old and traditional world outlook," i.e., outmoded liberalism. The purpose of the new society is "consolidation of various organizations of literary men on the basis of the national spirit peculiar to this country." In November 1942 steps were taken to form a Japan Public Opinion Patriotic Association, the purpose of which was to create unity among commentators and critics in Japan.

EDUCATIONAL reform is also being urged in Japan, "to strengthen studies of [Japanese] morals and Japanese classics, and to improve the training of body and mind." Of course, this should not be interpreted as meaning that before 1942 the Japanese schools neglected mind or body. It does mean that British and American influences, wherever they are found, must be driven out. European dress for men and women was banned in April 1942; new members of the Diet were to dispense with hats, swallow tails, and British parliamentary customs; were to renounce "abusive" language and practice "purification" before attendance (May 1942). Jazz and similar music was banned; Aichi perfecture started a movement in January 1943 to abolish baseball, tennis, and hockey as American popular sports; Mme. Miura, noted opera singer, in January 1942 pledged that she would never sing Mme. Butterfly "until the United States surrenders to Japan." Such cases of chauvinism and atavism are numerous and are to be found in all fields.

What, then, is to be substituted for British and American influences? Nipponism—which is as nebulous and as difficult to define as Americanism.

Whatever Nipponism may be, the place of women in this system, as outlined by Lieut. Gen. Kurazo Suzuki, is quite definite. Japanese women, who are docile, have virtues "that cannot be found among women of other nations, just as our Army and Navy have the highest spiritual qualities in the world. . . . The best training place is in the family into which they marry . . . serving the members of the family and learning the family teaching and customs."

Capt. Hideo Hirade, Navy spokesman, was even more definite in a speech in March 1942 at a meeting in the Hibiya Amphitheatre to thousands of women "weeping with emotion." The speech was broadcast over a nation-wide hookup. Why did these women weep? What was so touching in Hirade's speech? This captain told them:

"Without mothers, there can be no war in this world for the simple reason that the population will decrease gradually; but as such an eventuality can never happen, war must be inevitable . . . good mothers are necessary to bring up good soldiers."

As a model, he quotes words of a hero's mother: "I brought him up for no [other] reason than to offer him to the service of the state." Thus the duty of women is to bear children for the service of the state—and the Japanese state is now in need of many children.

Gone are the days when foreign experts and Japanese enthusiasts taught Japanese mothers birth control; when Japan was pictured as an overpopulated country, whose professors tried to calculate when the undesirable maximum of population would be reached and the curve would start to fall. Prof. Masao Fukushima, D. Litt., writing in *Sozo* (January 1942), states that Japan's population *should be* 100,000,000 in twenty years for the needs of construction of the new order. But in April 1942 the *Weekly Bulletin* of the Board of Information insisted that to keep Greater East Asia under control a minimum of 200,000,000 Japanese would be needed. To achieve this, the following measures were recommended: lowering of the marriage age, which now averages 24.4

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years; physical training of females and males between fifteen and twenty-five; medical examinations; commendations of parents with more than five children; baby contests; martial exercises; public meetings and so on.

Colonel Yahagi, speaking in January 1942 before 15,000 young persons at the Uchihara Agricultural Institute, expressed the belief that Japan's population could be increased by 200,000,000! But government officials insisted that the present ratio of agricultural workers should be maintained—forty percent of the total population—lest Japan follow in the footsteps of Great Britain. The population of the large cities should be dispersed, tuberculosis eradicated and so on.

For the time being, Hideki Tojo was satisfied with the situation. In a meeting of the Diet in February 1942 he gave the following population statistics (figures for the year 1937 were added by the author of this article):

NATURAL GROWTH OF THE POPULATION OF JAPAN
(in Thousands)

		Births	*Deaths*	*Natural Increase*
1937		2,181	1,208	973
1938		1,930	1,260	670
1939		1,900	1,270	630
1940		2,100	1,180	930
1941	(expected)	2,210	1,140	1,070

The data for the last two years are questionable. Even if through some device, such as special leaves for soldiers, the government succeeded in raising the number of births, how could it succeed in decreasing the number of deaths, since living conditions in 1940 and 1941 were worse than in any preceding years—to say nothing of deaths directly resulting from the war!

In conclusion, we should note the propaganda now being used in Japan to convince the people that they are on the right road and that they should not grumble at the sacrifices required. This propaganda is directed along four lines: (1) playing up Japanism, the new order, possibilities in the newly occupied areas, the bright future for the Greater Eastern Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, etc.; (2) combating Allied propaganda, liberal and Communist ideologies; (3) using all American and British writers who praise Japan; (4) distorting the news.

The first type of propaganda has been touched upon and will be described also in its relation to Greater Eastern Asia (GEA). As to the second, the Association of the GEA Journalists in Japan was founded in December 1942, its avowed purpose "to combat the ideological warfare of the enemy countries through the closest cooperation of all the people within the Co-Prosperity Sphere." Ujita, presiding over the meeting of this Association, stressed "the significance of ideological warfare for the prosecution of the GEA war."

B. Abramovie
Soviet Cartoonist

Important persons in Japan in their speeches never forget to emphasize the dangers of liberalism, individualism, Communism and other isms—except Nipponism. In March 1942 Major General Kenryo Sato said: "The days of liberalism will not return so easily. Nay, such days should not be allowed to return at all. . . . The war puts on the aspects of an ideological war, pure and simple. Should there remain in Japan the elements who are obsessed by liberalism, which is the enemy's specialty, it will impede the successful conduct of the war seriously. Liberal ideas must be completely eliminated if the war is to be prosecuted successfully."

In April 1942 Kiwao Okamura, vice-president of the Board of Information, demanded in his speech that American and British cultures should be eliminated, together with democracy, liberalism, and individualism. This is a constant refrain. It suggests that Allied propaganda does not fall on stony ground and should be intensified; the task is not as hopeless as some people believe it is.

THE Japanese propagandists use many American and British writers and politicians to bolster the morale at home. Martin Dies' attacks on the Communists in the United States are used to show the dissension between the Allies and the fundamental identity of Japan's and America's interests in the extermination of Communism. Hanson Baldwin's admiration of Japanese stamina, training, resourcefulness, courage, etc., are used adroitly. Freda Utley's proofs that it is impossible to beat Germany and her allies and that a negotiated peace is necessary are quoted with love and sympathy and highly approved.

Greatest praise goes to the former ambassador of the United States in Japan, Joseph C. Grew. The Japanese commentators agree with Joseph Grew in his characterization of the Japanese people. They reject only the epithet "fanatical." "We are not fanatical. . . . It is not a fanaticism but a deeply rooted racial spirit which does not exist in such a young heterogeneous country as Mr. Grew's America." Quoting in full from Grew's report that the Japanese will not "crack morally, psychologically, or economically, even when eventual defeat stares them in the face," the Japanese commentators then ask: Why fight such a wonderful country as that described in Grew's report?

Day in, day out, the Japanese public is fed with distorted news. The newspapers in glowing terms describe real and imagined victories, but never defeats. On May 27, 1942, the Japanese read that "the Indian Ocean is put under [Japanese] control"; on June 11 they read that "the Pacific [is] in Japan's hands"—this after the battles for Midway and the Aleutian Islands! On April 28 they heard that Malta was now reduced to ashes. They were told that President Quezon was killed by the Americans at the close of the Philippine campaign; they read about discontent spreading in the United States and about growing economic difficulties here; they are presented with a picture of a disintegrating Alliance. Their duty, as presented to them, is only to fight and wait.

Under these conditions, it is clear that there is a fertile field for Allied propaganda directed to Japan. It is true, the military defeats of Japanese forces are the best propaganda for the United Nations. Yet their size and even their character can be hidden for months from the Japanese people, and their morale may be bolstered in this way. Even though few Japanese have shortwave radio sets, many of them have radio sets that could receive stations in China. If the Allies would send their shortwave propaganda to Japan through stations built specially for this purpose in China, the effects might be considerable.

Japan is often pictured as a completely unified nation, the conclusion therefore being that the only way to deal with the Japanese is to fight and defeat them and then to keep them under guard because there are no Japanese except militarists who can rule the country. The information presented here, scanty as it is, suggests that there may be some potential allies among the Japanese people. They may not be as numerous as we should like, yet with the progress of the war and with our persistent efforts to reach them through all media, we may increase their numbers, disrupt to a certain degree Japan's war effort, and give strength and encouragement to those people with whom the Allies can deal after the defeat of Japan.

ANDREW J. GRAJDANZEV.

The article by Mr. Grajdanzev, a member of the Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is from "The Far Eastern Survey" of May 3.

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DETROIT'S BIG THREE

A. B. Magil does a closeup of General Motors, Chrysler, Ford—their war record of achievement, lags, and possibilities. The truth about Willow Run. . . . The second article of a series.

Detroit.

GENERAL Motors, Chrysler, Ford—these are the great names of the auto industry, the giants of mass production whose works are known in every part of the globe. Detroit has been largely built in their image, its pulse beating to their rhythm. Once the auto industry was highly competitive, but the Big Three have so extended their dominion that in recent years nine out of every ten passenger cars and trucks have come out of their factories. Today they are the auto industry's chief producers of war materials —General Motors is, in fact, the largest producer in the country.

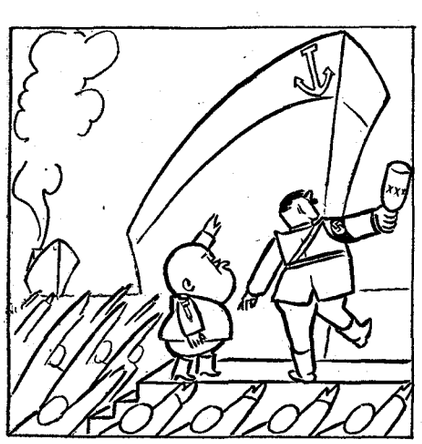
How well are the Big Three working for the war? The answer must necessarily be in relative terms and is based on such data as can be obtained under wartime restrictions and on talks I have had with spokesmen for management, labor, and government agencies, as well as with many rank and file workers. It must also be borne in mind that the absence of planned, centralized direction of our economy as a whole necessarily affects all companies, creates bottlenecks for which they are not to blame, and aggravates shortcomings for which they are responsible. On the whole, as already noted in my first article last week, the Big Three have not utilized their enormous facilities as completely and efficiently as companies like Packard, Continental Motors, and Murray Body have utilized their very much smaller facilities. Take Ford, for example.

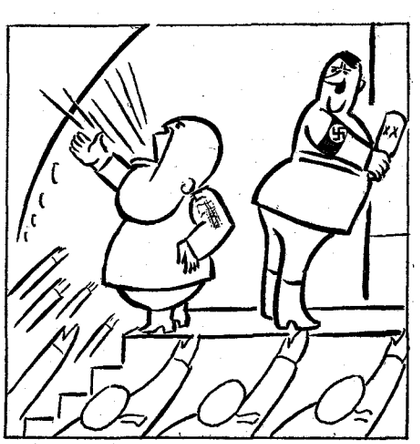
The myth of Ford efficiency dies hard. Abroad Ford is the symbol of American industrial achievement and "Fordism" has become almost a cult. There is no doubt that Ford was a great pioneer and in developing his Model T car he brilliantly demonstrated the possibilities of mass production. But the fact is that Ford clung to the principles of the Model T long after they had become obsolete and then had to close his factory for six months before he could get going with his Model A. Measured by the yardstick of profits—and this is the ultimate test under capitalism—Ford's *inefficiency* in recent years (as distinguished from his Model T heyday) has been monumental. For the eleven years beginning with 1927, when the last Model T was built, profit before taxes of the Ford Motor Co. and the Ford-owned Lincoln Motor Co. averaged .04 percent a year on capital investment. During the same period General Motors averaged 25.25 percent and Chrysler 23.49 percent. Of the total profits of the Big Three during 1927-37 GM took 86.8 percent, Chrysler 13 percent, and Ford only .2 percent. In five of those eleven years Ford actually lost money, and for the entire period his average yearly profit before taxes was only $243,559. In other words, from the standpoint of profits Ford was in the class of the small independents despite the fact that in financial resources he was second only to General Motors and in production he ranked first in one year, second or third in the others.

The board of directors of any ordinary corporation would fire officials who turned in that kind of a profit record. But Ford is not an ordinary corporation. Talk to people who know the auto industry and they will tell you that Ford's production methods are rigid, excessively costly and less suited to the manufacture of war materials, with its complexities and frequent changes, than those of almost any other producer. Ford's attempt to construct a self-contained private industrial kingdom, insulated against "outside" influence, has led to unwieldy overcentralization, to technical and administrative petrifaction. Having failed the test of profits in the recent peacetime period, he has now failed (I speak relatively of course) the supreme test of production for total war. It is an ironic commentary on super-rugged individualism that the father of mass production produced the fantastic debacle of Willow Run.

Just when some government body is going to get around to investigating Willow Run I don't know. The Senate Truman committee made passes at an investigation, but that's about all. Yet Willow Run would be a major scandal in any country. And the Army procurement service shares part of the responsibility. When I was last in Detroit shortly before Pearl Harbor the Willow Run bomber plant was being built and it was already a legend. Originally it was to manufacture nothing but sub-assemblies for other companies making Consolidated B-24 bombers, but Ford persuaded the War Department that he could also build the completed bomber. "We have the floor space in Detroit and vicinity to have built the Willow Run bomber without the necessity of a new plant," George Addes, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers-CIO, told me. But that would have required conversion. And Willow Run was projected in the pre-Pearl Harbor days when the auto companies were insisting that they couldn't convert more than ten or fifteen percent of their equipment. The OPM and the procurement services of the armed forces agreed with them and were quite ready to provide at government expense new facilities whose construction consumed large quantities of strategic materials and much precious time.

Though the government shelled out $66,000,000 for the Willow Run plant and its highly specialized machinery, the Ford company was allowed to do things its own way. Its own way included locating the plant thirty miles from the chief source of manpower, Detroit; the hiring of workers who were overwhelmingly male, white,





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and draftable; complete neglect of the elementary problem of housing and active opposition to the government's attempt to solve this problem, and the use of over-elaborate and inflexible tooling methods that delayed production and now make it difficult to introduce the frequent minor changes of design which modern warfare requires. The Ford company built an ideal plant—for civilian cargo planes after the war. "When the war is over," Henry Ford told a group of reporters back in September 1941, "we are going to retain the building we are erecting and construct airplanes on a mass production scale."

THE Willow Run plant was scheduled to be in production by May 1942 and, according to the advance publicity, would eventually turn out one bomber an hour. But the first completed bomber was three months behind schedule and all production figures have had to be revised sharply downward. I can report, however, that in the last couple of months, under the prodding of the War Production Board, the War Manpower Commission, the Army and the Truman committee, the situation at Willow Run has decidedly improved. "Willow Run is clicking," Col. George E. Strong told me. Colonel Strong, a shrewd, energetic air force officer, is in charge of internal security and industrial relations in fourteen states and has become an important figure in the production setup in this area. I got the same story from H. A. Weissbrodt, deputy regional director of the War Production Board, and Edward L. Cushman, deputy regional director of the War Manpower Commission.

In view of recent contrary reports I was skeptical, but talks with Willow Run workers left no doubt that, if "clicking" was perhaps too sanguine a word, nevertheless, progress has been substantial. Willow Run is a long way from producing one bomber an hour (this figure was probably never realistic), but it is doing considerably bettre than one bomber a day—the actual figure is a military secret. And it could do even better if it could get enough workers to institute three shifts instead of two.

An important new development has been the company's belated agreement to decentralize bomber production and shift some of the operations to Detroit. This should help alleviate the manpower problem and increase production. Of course, the labor problem would not be nearly so serious if the company abandoned its opposition to decent housing, its hostility to unionism, and its discriminatory policy toward Negroes, particularly Negro women. Out of about 15,000 women employed at Willow Run, there were, last month, only 290 Negroes. Results would also be greatly improved if the work were better organized. "I spend nine hours doing fours hours' work," one worker told me. And Willow Run is one plant which cannot plead shortage of materials to explain its failure to use the labor force properly. If anything, the plant has been guilty of some materials-hoarding.

It may be argued that the Willow Run project has involved so many new and difficult problems that it is hardly representative of Ford war production. That is only partly true. The fact is that the situation at the Ford Highland Park plant is also poor, while at the main Rouge plant it can be described as no better than fair. The Highland Park factory has been making the M-4 medium (General Sherman) tank, jeeps, and a most important secret military instrument. On the M-4 tank Ford did not do as good a job as Chrysler and General Motors. Recently production was shifted from the M-4 to the M-10 tank destroyer. As for the secret military instrument, a delicate and complicated job, Ford has bungled it completely. The company

For Lack of a Plan . . .

LATEST developments on the national production front serve to highlight the harmful results of planlessness which A. B. Magil has described in the auto industry. The other day the War Production Board announced that the United States now has enough plants to beat the Axis and $5,000,000,000 to $5,500,000,000 of contracts for the construction of new facilities will be reexamined and probably canceled. It will be possible to include in this only a small proportion of the $7,000,000,000 of new plants that are now under construction and are scheduled to be completed by the middle of this summer. It is evident that both the letting of these contracts and their sudden cancellation have been improvised, without any clear conception of where we are going in production and how we intend getting there.

This same improvisation in lieu of planning seems to be an important, if not the most important factor, in the recent cutback in the output of tanks, anti-aircraft guns, shells and other items, about which there have been so many conflicting reports. After having failed to achieve the announced 1942 goals in tanks and anti-aircraft guns, it is now discovered that we have overproduced these weapons! Or is it that we have overproduced factories for manufacturing them? Then figure this one out: at the same time that we are being told that the big emphasis now is on planes, and aircraft production is presumably being pushed to the limit, President Roosevelt's original program of 125,000 planes in 1943 has been cut down to 100,000. And since the latest figures show only 6,200 planes produced in March, some real sprinting will be needed to reach even this reduced goal.

PERHAPS some clue to the mystery may be found if we take a look at the steel situation. Writes Kenneth L. Austin in the financial section of the May 9 issue of the New York *Times:* "Claims for a share in the nation's steel supply in the third quarter of 1943 have mounted to such considerable proportions that it has become necessary for the steel division of the War Production Board to pare the requirements from all sources, including the Army and the Navy." Austin quotes H. G. Batcheller, director of the WPB steel division, as saying that in the third quarter the Army will receive eighty-six percent of the carbon steel it needs, the Navy only eighty percent, the Maritime Commission seventy-eight percent, and "a very sharp cut" will also have to be made in the allotment for lend-lease.

Why is steel production below requirements? First, because large quantities of steel, as well as other strategic materials, have been unnecessarily consumed in the construction of new facilities; second, because the same business-as-usual practices which have limited the production program as a whole have been allowed to hold sway in the steel industry. Had the plan which President Philip Murray of the CIO proposed for steel two years ago been adopted, we would not today be forced by shortages to curtail the output of weapons which our soldiers and allies on all the fronts so urgently need for the invasion of Europe and the war in the Far East. In face of this situation the pressure from certain sources for the diversion of larger quantities of steel and other materials for civilian purposes is a crime against our country.

THERE is no mystery about the solution of the problem. It has just been restated by the Kilgore subcommittee of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, which calls for the establishment of a central authority "for the mobilization and maximum utilization of the nation's resources." In other words, centralized planning as provided in the Tolan-Kilgore-Pepper bill.

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started work on it in December 1941, but from an unimpeachable source I have learned that during the first fourteen months *not a single one of the Ford-built instruments passed Army inspection.* The chief difficulty is that Ford supervision has been unable to master the intricacies of producing this instrument. Workers have not been adequately trained and their morale is low. One woman employed on this job told me: "Conditions at the plant are hectic. They are constantly making reorganizations, moving machinery from one floor to another." Production as a whole has picked up since the beginning of the year, but both machines and workers are still frequently idle despite the fact that there is no shortage of materials. The plant is working only two shifts and in some divisions one shift.

These are hardly auspicious conditions for undertaking new war production jobs. Yet the Highland Park plant is now being prepared to take on some of the operations in the manufacture of Pratt & Whitney 2,000-horsepower aircraft engines. This engine has heretofore been built at the Rouge plant's aircraft building constructed by the government. Recently the Ford company was given a $34,000,000 contract for a fourfold expansion of its Pratt & Whitney engine program. The company announced it would use available space at the Highland Park factory, its two branch assembly plants at Memphis and Kansas City, and a number of smaller plants in the Detroit area. Not the least interesting part of this announcement was the revelation that the Memphis factory has been idle since January 1942, while the one at Kansas City, which employed 1,500 in peacetime, has had only 200 on its payroll.

Behind the disorganization manifest at Willow Run, Highland Park, and to some extent at the Rouge plant, there is another factor: the struggle within the Ford organization itself. This is a frequent topic of conversation among Ford workers, but it is little known outside of Detroit. There are two factions in the company, one led by Charles E. Sorenson, vice-president and general manager, who is the engineering brains of the company, the other by Harry Bennett, personnel director. Bennett is Henry Ford's confidant, while Sorenson is close to Edsel Ford. Thus the cleavage goes to the very top, though personal relations between father and son are said to be good. If the factional fight stayed at the top, it wouldn't be so bad, but the trouble is it has been carried down the line to all the thousands of court retainers and supervisory personnel of the Ford organization. The feud rages in every department of every building, and its effect on production can well be imagined. Just what the issues are I haven't been able to learn, though in regard to the union the Bennett faction is reported to favor a more conciliatory policy than the Sorenson group.

SO MUCH for Ford. The war production record of the Chrysler Corp. is also highly inadequate, but for different reasons. In sheer engineering proficiency Chrysler has few equals among American industrial firms. Chrysler is, as E. D. Kennedy points out in his book, *The Automobile Industry*, something of an industrial miracle. The corporation entered the field too late to get anywhere, acquired the Dodge car when it was on the decline, and brought out the Plymouth just about in time to have it hit by the depression. Yet Chrysler revived the Dodge, pushed Plymouth into the best-seller class, and not only got somewhere, but in recent years edged out Ford for second place in car production. And its profits on capital investment have been, as already indicated, only slightly below General Motors'. Shrewd financing and salesmanship played their part in this, but without superb technique Chrysler could not have risen to the top. And the Chrysler production methods, in contrast to Ford's, have the flexibility that is admirably suited to war purposes.

As a rule the quality and speed of the Chrysler performance on specific war jobs has been excellent (a notable example is the tank arsenal which has produced M-3 and more recently M-4 tanks). The chief trouble is that the company simply hasn't taken on enough work and has left a large part of its equipment and plant space unconverted. The Plymouth plant in Detroit, which I discussed in last week's article, is the worst example, but a similar situation exists at the Dodge and Chrysler plants. In peacetime the value of Chrysler's products is greater than that of Ford and a little more than one-third that of General Motors. Yet by November 1942, whereas the total of GM's war orders amounted to $7,251,100,000 and those of Ford to $2,036,100,000, Chrysler's war orders were only $1,562,000,000. And to a greater extent than most other auto companies Chrysler has sought to restrict its war activities to new plants built by the government and to such items as require little change from peacetime production (it is, for example, the nation's largest producer of military vehicles).

At the same time that acres of Chrysler

plant space lie unused, the government is building in Chicago for the Dodge division of Chrysler one of the largest industrial units in the world which will manufacture Wright aircraft engines. Some conception of its size may be gathered from the fact that it is fifty percent larger than the gigantic Willow Run bomber plant. The new engine factory is now nearing completion, but by the time it reaches full production, the war may be almost over. "What will happen to this huge plant after the war?" I asked a representative of the Chrysler company. He shrugged his shoulders. "It won't be any good to the auto industry," he said. "Maybe the stockyards will be interested in taking it over." Let's overlook the cost in dollars. But what about the cost in Wright aircraft engines that have not been built while waiting for this factory to be constructed and get under way? (They could have been made with converted facilities.) Can America afford that?

Economic considerations seem to be back of the Chrysler Corp.'s relatively greater resistance to conversion. Chrysler is more concerned about its competitive position after the war than is General Motors or Ford. Lacking the huge financial surplus of its two principal rivals and holding second place in car production by a very narrow margin over Ford, Chrysler has sought to organize its war activities in a way that would enable it to shift to the postwar manufacture of cars more rapidly and more cheaply than either of its competitors. This is, of course, a business-as-usual approach that doesn't do the war any good. Yet in condemning Chrysler we ought to recognize that in the absence of any central machinery for integrating the various elements of our war economy and compelling the full utilization of all facilities, ordinary economic pressures are likely to have their way.

THE best war production job among the Big Three has been done by General Motors. Though this company aggressively opposed conversion, once the manufacture of cars was halted by government order, it converted more rapidly and completely than its two leading competitors. Like Chrysler and Ford, GM persuaded the government to build at great expense and with costly delay new factories like the Fisher Body tank assembly plant at Grand Blanc, Mich., and the Buick Pratt & Whitney aircraft engine plant in Chicago. On the whole, however, it has relied less on such new construction and more on its own facilities than the other two corporations. This is no doubt due to the vastness and variety of its machine tool equipment and to its peculiarly advantageous position in the industry. General Motors, the most fabulous profit-maker in the history of capitalism, is the corporate name for the greatest industrial empire in the world, embracing a large number of formerly independ-

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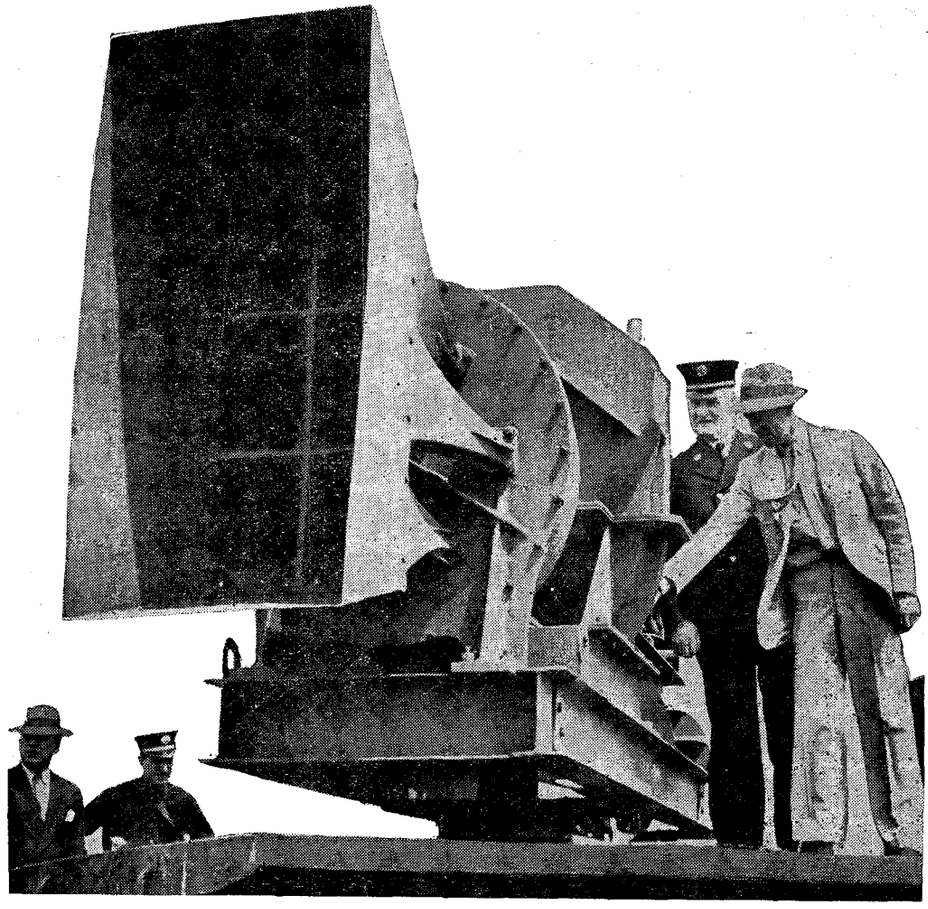
ent companies with a total of 112 plants in the United States and Canada. These plants operate under a system of centralized administration and decentralized production management which makes for a very high level of efficiency.

General Motors has, however, set definite limits to its war activities. Though it has adopted the slogan, "Victory is our business," it is devoting to the business of victory something less than its full potential energy. There is, for example, the central Chevrolet assembly plant at Flint, Mich., which has remained largely unconverted. The Chevrolet car is the corporation's biggest seller and profit-maker. It is evident that in this case the business of victory has taken second place to the business of the postwar manufacture of Chevrolets. Moreover, GM has set war production goals for itself which are far below its actual capacity. Already, at a time when national production is being pushed to new highs and our country is preparing to hurl its full strength against the Axis through a European invasion, General Motors output has begun to level off. In the first quarter of 1943 the company produced $765,525,-835 of war materials, as against $753,-711,139 in the fourth quarter of 1942. This is an increase of less than two percent. Compare this with the rate of increase last year: first quarter, fifty-three percent; second quarter, forty-five percent; third quarter, forty-nine percent; fourth quarter, thirty-nine percent. And it is clear that the company itself does not believe it can expand production much further. Four billion dollars a year was the peak given me the other day by a representative of the company, and this is the figure that also appears in its annual report. But this is only about thirty percent above the present rate of production.

What is the actual capacity of General Motors? It isn't possible to determine this accurately, but we can calculate approximately. The company representative I talked to estimated that General Motors controls ten percent of the durable metal goods capacity of the country. This is somewhat lower than the estimate made by the company in 1941, but let's accept it. About eighty percent of all war orders are for durable metal goods. On that basis General Motors' share in the $52,000,-000,000 of arms produced by American industry in 1942 should have been a little over $4,000,000,000; actually it was less than $2,000,000,000. And of the $90,-000,000,000 war program projected for this year, GM should be turning out over $7,000,000,000, or nearly twice its own contemplated peak. Whether or not, in view of the hit-or-miss organization of our war economy and General Motors' own readiness to stop short of an all-out effort, it is possible for the company to achieve any such level, is another matter.

There is a further limiting factor that affects the production record of the Big Three: their refusal to permit their workers to contribute the full measure of their skill, initiative, and creativeness to the war effort. I know that the Big Three would vehemently deny this. They would point to the labor-management production committees that exist in their plants. True, they exist, but that's about all. The General Motors representative admitted that half of their labor-management committees are inactive. I might add that the activity of almost all the others consists largely of selling war bonds and trying to boost morale —necessary work, yet the problems of production itself are not touched, except indirectly. This is the case, for example, at the Cadillac plant which is making M-5 and M-8 light tanks and Allison aircraft engines. It is also the case at the Ternstedt plant, a subsidiary of Fisher Body, where, according to Jack White, recording secretary of the Ternstedt UAW local, the company refused to permit the organization of a separate labor-management committee and insisted that the union shop committee perform this function.

The Ford and Chrysler records in this respect are, if anything, even worse. At the Ford Rouge factory a plant-wide production committee, as well as committees in the individual buildings and departments for a short time functioned and did good work, but the company now ignores them.



Loudest man-made noise-maker in the world: air raid siren, produced by Chrysler.

In the foundry, where about sixty-five percent of the workers are Negroes, a labor-management committee was started in the steel department. Within three weeks it succeeded in raising production sixty percent. When a Detroit newspaper published this story after it originally appeared in the union paper, *Ford Facts*, the company fired twelve workers and refused further dealings with the committee. "The biggest problem at the Rouge plant is lack of cooperation on the part of the company," said Shelton Tappes, the able Negro recording secretary of the Ford local of the UAW, as we sat eating a hasty lunch together across the street from the new spacious headquarters of the local. "They will lay a man off for smoking and seem more interested in punishing minor infractions than in production. They have suggestion boxes, but they pay no attention to the suggestions. At least forty percent of the men are not doing a full day's work because production is poorly planned."

A few days ago I had the opportunity of observing at first hand a different kind of relationship between employers and workers. I sat in at a meeting of the best labor-management committee in the auto industry. It is functioning at a company which also has the best war production record in the industry. Maybe there's a connection. I'll tell you about it in my next article.

A. B. MAGIL.

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SECESSIONISTS, 1943

The conspiracy of the "white supremacy" leaders to bolt the Union in the national elections and defeat democracy. Night-riding for a fall. A firsthand report from the Deep South.

Birmingham.

POLITICAL circles in the South have, since the year opened, buzzed with the report that the Democratic Party of the region will secede from the national body and, as an independent political grouping, bring about the defeat of Roosevelt or the Roosevelt candidate in 1944. Frank M. Dixon, who completed a four-year term as governor of Alabama in January, and Sam Jones, the present governor of Louisiana, are the spokesmen for this plot.

Governor Dixon said in a speech before the Southern Society in New York last December:

"Suggestions are rife as to the formation of a southern Democratic party, the election of unpledged representatives to the electoral college. Ways and means are being discussed daily to break our chains. We will find some way, and find it regardless of the effect on national elections, if this senseless attack keeps up."

Horace Wilkinson, former political boss of Birmingham, put it more crudely: "The next objective of the white people of America must be to throw the election of the President into the House of Representatives as the Constitution of the United States provides."

In January, Sen. W. Lee O'Daniel of Texas, accompanied by Vance Muse, the organizer of the fascist Christian-Americans, addressed the Alabama legislature upon Dixon's invitation, and it was reported that the three men privately discussed the secession plan.

Here's the plot: If Roosevelt or a Roosevelt supporter is nominated by the Democratic national convention, the South will literally boycott the presidential elections in 1944. The politicians would seek a majority vote in each southern state for unpledged electors as against electors pledged to any of the formal candidates. If successful in enough states, blank ballots would be sent to the President of the Senate for the electoral college, and it would thus be impossible for either the Democratic or the Republican candidate to have a majority of "the whole number of electors appointed." The Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution (which slightly changes Article II) provides that, should no candidate have a majority, "then from the person having the highest number not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote."

It sounds fantastic, doesn't it? But it has been put forward publicly by two governors, and privately by an indeterminate number of southern officeholders. The tactic, however, is less notable for its fantastic quality than for its brazen defiance of democratic principle. If it succeeded, thirteen southern states with about 6,000,000 votes would have thirteen votes, against thirteen northern and midwestern states with six to seven times as many voters.

Naturally the people of the United States, engaged in a war for democracy, would not tolerate the imposition of such a dictatorship. Undoubtedly the originators of this plan are aware that its success would involve our nation in civil conflict when our very existence is threatened.

CONSIDERABLE evidence has accumulated that Dixon, Wilkinson, and Jones have been unable to mobilize much support for their project. In fact, the tide has been steadily running against them. When Harrison Spangler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, publicly made overtures to the southern democrats, the response from the southern party leaders, as reported in an Associated Press survey, was generally a reaffirmation of party loyalty. Chauncey Sparks, the present governor of Alabama, has made several pronouncements repudiating Dixon's rabid anti-Negro position and has pledged support to New Deal policies. The plan was also rejected by the Birmingham *Age-Herald* columnist, John Temple Graves, who calls himself a liberal but who actually represents a conservative section of southern opinion. Graves, however, has helped the Dixon-Jones bloc by parroting their criticisms of the Roosevelt administration. Even the Alabama Democratic State Committee, which was expected to endorse the plan formally at its January meeting, had to be adjourned hurriedly by its anti-Roosevelt chairman, Gessner T. McCorvey, to prevent the passage of a resolution commending the National Democratic Party and its leadership.

But the ghost was really laid at the Tallahassee conference of the southern governors late in March. Sam Jones made his speech and repeated the arguments which appeared over his name in the *Saturday Evening Post* of March 6. Dixon was there unofficially (he is now lobbyist for a wholesale grocers' association) and did not speak. Gov. Ellis Arnall, who beat Talmadge in Georgia, disappointed many of his supporters by a speech which gave comfort to the bolters. But Broughton of North Carolina, Holland of Florida, and Cooper of Tennessee, all of them conservatives, opposed the bolt vigorously. In the midst of the conference, Sen. Claude Pepper flew in, uninvited, and went into "executive session" with the governors. What Pepper said, and what the governors said, is not on record, but after Tallahassee it was acknowledged in most quarters that the bolt was more unlikely than ever.

The narrow base from which the Dixon-Jones crowd operates is revealed in their weakness under any genuine counter-attack. Pity is that the counter-attack was so long delayed, and these men were permitted to spread their demoralizing influence so widely, harming national unity and the war effort. It must be recorded that labor, not the southern Roosevelt liberals, seized the initiative from the bolters. Specifically, it was the Bessemer Red Ore Council of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, CIO, which first, and most militantly, took up the challenge. At the moment the Democratic Party leaders in Alabama were advertising their refusal to raise funds for the national party chest, the ore miners intervened. In a few days they raised about $600 from their members and forwarded it to Sen. Lister Hill for the party budget. When labor showed a general willingness to follow through, the politicos thought better of it, and launched their own drive for the national party treasury.

In Louisiana honors go to the AFL. At its recent state convention its members not only lambasted Sam Jones, but endorsed a fourth term for Roosevelt.

Rejection of the Dixon-Jones plot by the overwhelming majority of southern Democratic leaders must not be interpreted as complete unification of the party in the South behind President Roosevelt. It is doubtful whether even now Dixon and Jones have relinquished hope of pushing their plan to success. The anti-Roosevelt Bourbons rejected the tactic only because the counter-action of labor and the Roosevelt forces showed them that the tactic itself was extremely faulty.

THE anti-Roosevelt Bourbons have considerable influence, not surprising where poll tax and arbitrary anti-Negro election laws disfranchise up to eighty percent of the adult citizens. This influence is reflected in the disruptive role played by most southerners in Congress. Their main base consists of the most reactionary planter interests, the old-line politicians

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and their hangers-on, and that section of finance capital directly associated with the du Pont NAM group. The biggest corporations (US Steel, for instance) have followed the short-sighted policy of giving the Bourbon plotters neither support nor opposition. But they have permitted some of their southern representatives to associate themselves with the conspirators.

Southern business groups on the whole —as distinct from the plotters—are as anxious as those of any section to win the war. The Bourbons' strength will depend, therefore, on the success they achieve in concealing their defeatist aims and in manipulating the grievances—legitimate and specious—of independent and small business and the farmers. Whatever power they can muster will be thrown against the President to defeat the war program and the Roosevelt camp in 1944. To succeed, they must put the Roosevelt forces on the defensive and keep them there; they must drive a deep wedge between a popular Commander-in-Chief and the twenty to thirty percent of the people who do the voting in the southern states.

To achieve this the Alabama group—Dixon, McCorvey, and Wilkinson—calculate largely on the "Negro issue," the appeal to race prejudice. They have railed against Executive Order 8802, barring discrimination in jobs and job training in war industry, and have attacked the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice as a "Kangaroo court." They claim that the administration, and particularly Mrs. Roosevelt, are trying to "impose" social equality on the south.

The whole issue is pure demagogy. The administration, unfortunately, has done little to overcome the disproportion between social services accorded Negroes and whites in the South. True, it has undertaken to prevent the disproportion from growing greater, and the Negro people have shared in all the social gains of the New Deal. But federal anti-lynching legislation has not been enacted, violations of anti-peonage laws go unpunished, and the Department of Justice has yet to prove whether it means business in the prosecution of lynchers under existing federal laws. Executive Order 8802 carries with it tremendous promise of eliminating the crassest, and regarding war needs, one of the most costly, discriminatory practices. But the lag in enforcement means that it is still more promise than reality.

THE poll tax is the other issue emphasized by Dixon and McCorvey. Their objection to removing this device which brought them into power is quite understandable. But their charge that the administration is active in the campaign against it is, regrettably, untrue—those patriots campaigning for HR 7 in the present Congress do so without White House assistance. Even Senator Pepper, who introduced a similar bill in the Senate last year, declined to initiate legislation this year because of administration pressure. But this issue can avail the Dixon crowd nothing: those already having the right to vote in the South, are, in the majority, for abolition, at least in the more important poll tax states. Repeal of the poll tax by the Tennessee legislature last January indicates a widespread popular sentiment.

The former issue, the Negro question, has effect, primarily, because southern liberals and win-the-war forces have failed to "hold the line" for Negro rights. Carroll Kilpatrick in the March issue of *Harper's* says, "Newspapers that a few years ago fought for fair treatment of the Negro are on the defensive today. The southern demagogue has cried 'nigger' and men are on the march." However, here is an example of the liberals' congenital tendency to overestimate reaction and underestimate the awareness of labor and the common people. When the Dixon-Wilkinson crowd began their barrage of anti-Negro propaganda, the liberals fled the field. It was a disgusting spectacle to see men who had defended the rights of Negroes to advancement turn suddenly to admonishing the Negro people against "radicalism."

Eventually the liberals regrouped their forces. The best of the southern newspapers, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, the Nashville *Tennessean*, the Richmond *Times Dispatch* and the Birmingham *News-Age Herald*, have taken a firmer position. However, so far only labor has held the line and, on occasion, gone over to the counter-offensive. This has resulted in definitely improving Negro-white unity behind the administration.

Sam Jones and his advisers have evidently been impressed by the unfavorable reaction to the Dixon-McCorvey line and, in his SEP article, Jones touches only briefly on the Negro question. His bill of particulars against the administration cites old grievances, but with new emphasis.

FIRST, the freight rate differential. The subject is too complicated for detailed treatment here, but there is some justification for the complaint that freight rates are higher from a southern producing point to a northern consuming point, than between northern producing and consuming points, even where the distance is the same. The differential applies principally to manufactured products and in peace time undoubtedly handicaps the growing manufacturing industry in the South, especially hitting the smaller independent enterprises. Some adjustment has been made in recent years and further adjustments will be necessary in the postwar period.

However, the approach that business groups in the South take to this question, and the emphasis they place upon it, reveals how feudal hangovers blind capitalists to their genuine self-interest. They seek northern markets because they cannot, or do not wish to, conceive of a southern market. They prefer to compete with northern industry for northern markets rather than adopt a program of decent wages, higher income for tenant farmers, and social services for all, which Roosevelt has advocated as a means of providing a southern market with a purchasing power equal to that of the North and Midwest. Significant it is that those making the most noise about the injustice of the southern freight differential cling most stubbornly to the southern wage differential.

Southern industry has expanded tremendously during the war. While this means prosperity to the national corporations operating in the South, and has given wage levels a boost, the small businessmen and the small manufacturer, like their counterparts throughout the nation, have hovered on the verge of bankruptcy. So it is not surprising that the Bourbons are riding the freight differential hobby horse. If they can convince the independent businessmen that this inequality, rather than lack of central economic control, accounts for their plight, they can exploit the issue to the disadvantage of the administration.

The other issue Jones belabors is that of regimentation, regulation, and control, especially as it affects the farmers. There is considerable dissatisfaction among farmers, and not only big ones. This is partly due to mistakes of the early New Deal, and partly to the failure of administration forces to answer effectively the propaganda of the Bankhead bloc. The American Farm Bureau Federation, completely dominated by the landlords in the South, operates a vast political machine by virtue of control over the state extension services. The whittling away at the Farm Security Administration by the Farm Bureau and the so-called farm bloc has weakened the arm of the administration which not only is solving the problems of the masses of farmers, but is also best fitted to explain administration aims in the countryside.

Southern observers, including Kilpatrick in *Harper's* and John Temple Graves in the recent *American Mercury*, make much of the reactionaries' apparent success in turning the farmers against labor and the administration. While Kilpatrick is disquieted, Mr. Graves almost gloats over what he calls "the farmer-industrialist" coalition.

It is wise to heed the warning. The future of the FSA and perhaps the political role of the South is at stake in legislation now pending in Congress which would practically abolish FSA. The Farmers Union, the CIO, such representatives of the southern Roosevelt forces as the Birmingham *News* and a few southern congressmen, have spoken up vigorously for FSA. It goes without saying that much more must be done.

Carroll Kilpatrick's conclusion is, in

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general, correct. "The fight to overcome the lead of the modern political secessionists will not be an easy one. It cannot be won with a speech or two. But if the administration is rejuvenated politically, if it can drive to victory abroad and to clarity of purpose at home, Franklin D. Roosevelt once more can impel his southern enemies to seek cover."

It is true that there has been a lack of initiative on the part of the administration, so much so that Mr. Graves can congratulate it on what he regards as a policy of concessions: "Southern suspicion that the administration was backing Mrs. Roosevelt and northern Negro leaders . . . has been mollified by a series of incidents," Graves says, and lists the failure to enforce 8802, the hands-off policy in the poll tax fight, and Mrs. Roosevelt's attack on the Negro press. *But the burden of criticism for such appeasement must be borne not only by the administration but by all the progressive forces, especially those in the South, who have not yet thrown their full weight into the struggle.*

Much depends upon the fight for HR 7, the Marcantonio anti-poll tax bill, which has not been taken up energetically enough by the Roosevelt camp (or for that matter, by labor) above or below the Potomac.

Vigorous support for the enforcement of FEPC policies would buck up the administration on this most strategic issue.

Enactment of the Kilgore-Pepper bill, providing a central economic plan and the full utilization of small industry in production, would undermine one of the chief sources of secessionist strength—among the small and independent businessmen.

It is the duty of the Roosevelt camp to answer the specious Dixon-Jones arguments that Roosevelt and the New Deal have injured and not helped the South's economic position. A recent dispatch from Washington quotes Roscoe Arant, regional business consultant for the Department of Commerce in Atlanta, whose report to his department shows unprecedented gains for industry and agriculture in an area covering Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and parts of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Such information must be widely disseminated.

It is the duty of the same forces to guarantee that this prosperity shall not collect at the top, like cream in a bottle, but be diffused through the population. Such a general program will create the most favorable conditions for the election of all-out candidates to the Democratic national convention and the election of a victory Congress. If accompanied by certain political organizational steps on the part of the Roosevelt forces—such as the mobilization, strengthening, and coordination of the people's organizations—it will guarantee the final defeat of the secessionists and the unification of the South for victory.

ROB FOWLER HALL.

READERS' FORUM

Lady Paterson

TO NEW MASSES: Perhaps your magazine can bolster an out-of-towner's tottering reason with some explanation of the *Herald Tribune's* motives for devoting a page of its Sunday Book Section to the phenomenon of Isabel Paterson. The New York *Herald Tribune* seems a pretty good paper on the whole, with a consciousness of the meaning of the war, a restrained style, and a certain regard for facts. And yet, in a column called *Turns With a Bookworm*, a lady author of frilly fiction is allowed to pronounce on history, politics, economics, and the war; and the pronouncements would make Goebbels blush. The lady has a pronounced antipathy to democracy (which she seems to confuse in some way with the personality of Mr. Roosevelt) and has often exerted herself to prove that this country was really intended by its founders as a plutocratic oligarchy—her preferred form of government. This obsession is as nothing, however, compared to her preoccupation with Communism. At the merest mention of that dread word, one can almost see the black jet on her outraged bosom shudder.

Her recent piece on *The Fifth Seal* will long be treasured by Paterson admirers (along with their autographed copies of *The Red Decade*). She is peeved at Mr. Aldanov for pretending his book is not anti-Soviet, whereas, of course, he should have been proud of it. According to the fair Isabel, the book "brings home the full responsibility of the present world horror to the one source" and that is Russia. Did someone reveal that German monopoly capital backed Nazism? did we hear a whisper of the Cliveden set and the appeasement policy, the murder of Spain, the betrayal of Czechoslovakia, the refusal to accept collective security? Oh no, my children. The war is all because Hitler couldn't help playing follow-the-leader, he admired Stalin so. And we're fighting the copycat when we should be fighting the original; for Nazism is just a pale mirror-image of Communism.

Proof? Well, Miss Paterson makes vague allegations of Russian terrorism, depravity, perversion, and what have you; she quotes an apocryphal story that Stalin once hailed a Japanese as a brother Asiatic, and an equally aprocryphal report that Mrs. Litvinov looked frightened one evening during the Moscow trials; and she remarks "Free men have human dignity; collectivists cannot have it. The principle is unalterable, universal, and eternal." (I am Sir Oracle, And when I ope my lips let no dog bark.)

No human dignity at Stalingrad, Miss Paterson? No more human dignity in a Russian woman guerrilla than, say, in a lady novelist writing for the Book Section?

Now obviously Miss Paterson is more to be pitied then censured, and any friends she may have ought to do something quick. Obviously, too, the *Herald Tribune* is free to print anything it wants to. But why, in God's name, does it want to? After all, freedom of the press implies responsibility of the press. The *Herald Tribune* must be aware that Miss Paterson's explanation of the war is marked "Made in Berlin," that her description of Soviet internal affairs is a hysterical fable, and that Russia is our heroic and indispensable ally in our struggle for life. Elsewhere in its columns the *Herald Tribune* has taken intelligent cognizance of such facts. Why, then, ignore them in the back of the Book Section?

Perhaps the editors assume that readers of the Book Section are too bright for Miss Paterson to do them any harm, and consequently keep her on our charity. Possibly; for certainly to a thinking mind the lady's logic and language are the worst possible arguments for her cause. Yet there is enough confusion and enough ignorance of psychopathology, even among the literary, for Miss Paterson to slay her thousands. People of this sort can never be dismissed as harmless, especially when backed by the authority of newsprint. It seems incredible that Isabel just growed where she is, that there is no purposeful intention behind the paper's use of her column; yet the only intention one can deduce from her text is a passionate aversion to a democratic war.

HORACE BARKER.

Baltimore, Md.

Italian Soldiers

TO NEW MASSES: Will you permit me to express my hearty agreement with the letter of Joseph Galuppi (NM April 27) in regard to the qualities of Italians as soldiers? He has hit the nail on the head.

The Italians have often appeared as the world's worst soldiers, and as the best, for the same reason, that they possess brains. Under Garibaldi they were magnificent; they knew for what they were fighting. In Spain those who were with the Axis ran like rabbits when they came to grips with the enemy; they knew they really belonged on the other side. Those who fought with the republican army showed the same desperate heroism as the Spaniards, the Germans, the Yankees, and all the others that hated fascism. In this war the Italians have been militarily laughable, because they were intellectually admirable.

It is too bad that our propaganda has not been able to take advantage of this characteristic of the Italian people, and show them why our side is the one they should support. We seem to be appealing, not to the sense of the Italian people, but to the vanity and the greed of those politicians and military men who have helped bring this disaster on Italy. The Italian mind is too subtle to be caught by shoddy subterfuges. Let us promise them something real, and prove by our acts that we mean it, and instead of being the worst fighters in this war they will become among the best—and on our side.

ERIC A. STARBUCK.

Lawrence, Mass.

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BOOKS and PEOPLE by SAMUEL SILLEN

EMERSON AT WAR

The "scholar" and "hermit" of the textbooks was also a man of action in time of battle. Emerson's fight for the Union and Emancipation. Some lessons for our time.

THE Ralph Waldo Emerson of literary tradition is an austere, Olympian personality. His essential aloofness from the turmoil of his time has been stressed by conservative and liberal critics alike. To the academic neo-humanists, led by Paul Elmer Moore, he is an intellectual aristocrat with a lofty and altogether commendable disdain for the democratic mass. To Van Wyck Brooks he suggests a poetic retreat from the distracting causes, fads, and movements of his day. Emerson's supposed remoteness has been most vulgarly defined by Ludwig Lewisohn, who speaks of the Concord seer and his friend Thoreau as "chilled, under-sexed valetudinarians. . . ."

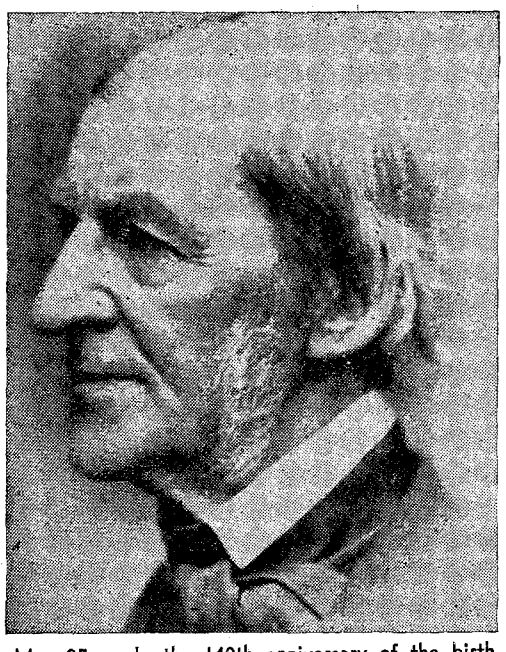
There is, of course, a measure of plausibility in the traditional emphasis. Emerson himself constantly said that he was not cut out for an active role in public affairs. He was obviously more at ease in Concord than in the revolutionary Paris which he visited in 1848 or in the shack-towns of Illinois and Wisconsin where he lectured from time to time. In 1851 Emerson characteristically prefaced a denunciation of the Fugitive Slave Act with an apology for deserting his study to speak from a political platform.

Yet the conventional portrait scarcely does justice to the man's stature. If it were indeed true that Emerson failed to immerse himself in the central issue of his literary prime—the struggle against slavery—and if he failed to respond urgently to the war which cut like a sword across his century, there would be little reason to suggest that he has something to say about our own war problems; his wisdom might best be reserved for more tranquil times. But the facts are more fortunate. Emerson was a vigorous intellectual spokesman for democratic America in crisis. With great courage and insight he fought for truths which we do well to cherish today.

THESE truths about the writer as warrior did not come easily. For many years Emerson had clung to his creed as a Harvard senior in 1820: "To forget for a season the world and its concerns, and to separate the soul for sublime contemplations till it has lost the sense of circumstances, and is decking itself in plumage drawn out from the gay wardrobe of Fancy. . . ." At seventeen he had hoped to abandon "earthly consanguinity," as he confided in his *Journal*. For Emerson, as a transcendentalist, the ultimate reality was thought, and the universe was governed by the idea. While the younger Emerson was in abstract agreement with the *ideals* of the Abolitionists, he looked with stern disapproval on any practical measures to realize these ideals in society. In his "Lecture on the Times" he admonished the Abolitionists that "the Reform of Reforms must be accomplished without means." He felt that men in action became narrow.

"We do not want actions, but men," he announced with a mighty disdain for political organization. "I must get with truth, though I should never come to act, as you call it, with effect. I must consent to inaction."

BUT this was in 1841. Just twenty years later he wrote that the war for freedom was engulfing everyone: ". . . no preoccupation can exclude it, & no heritage hide us. . . . But one thing I hope—that 'scholar' & 'hermit' will no longer be exempts, neither by the country's permission nor their own, from the public duty." Much had happened in two decades to cause this radical shift of view. Much had happened to make him exclaim in his essay on "The President's Proclamation" in the November 1862 *Atlantic Monthly:* "In times like these, when the nation is imperilled, what man can, without shame, receive good news from day to day without giving good news of himself? What right has any one to read in the journals tidings of victories, if he has not bought them by his own valor, treasure, personal sacrifice, or by service as good in his own department?"



May 25 marks the 140th anniversary of the birth of Ralph Waldo Emerson, who was born in 1803 and died in 1882.

Emerson had learned in those two decades that the "Reform of Reforms" could hardly be achieved "without means." The separation of idea and act was tenable only if one cared not too deeply about the idea. But for a free America he did care deeply. As a youth of nineteen, a true son of the young Republic, surrounded by as yet unfaded evidences of the Revolutionary epoch, he had dedicated his *Journal* to the Spirit of America as against the "ruinous and enslaved institutions" of Europe. He had rejoiced in "the birthright of a country where the freedom of opinion and action is so perfect that every man enjoys exactly that consideration to which he is entitled. . . ."

In the ensuing years, experience had been a stern teacher; in the forties and fifties, under Polk and Fillmore and Buchanan, this exalted mood found little nourishment. The *Journals* become clouded with signs that ruinous and enslaved institutions were as real a threat in this country as they had been in Europe. The ugly fact of slavery and the increasingly aggressive character of the slave power could not be vanquished by the purest of speculations.

EMERSON had concluded that "no race can be perfect whilst another race is degraded." Like Thoreau, Lowell, Whittier, and Parker he opposed, both as citizen and as writer, the Mexican War as an unjust war. A member of the Middlesex County Anti-Texas Convention, he was unable, he wrote Holmes, to stomach "the cant of extending the area of liberty by annexing Texas and Mexico." In his "Ode to Channing" he wrote with unrestrained feeling:

Behold the famous States
Harrying Mexico
With rifle and with knife!

And following the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, which brought the evil institution to one's doorstep, he wrote one of his most vigorous and closely reasoned lectures, "The last year [i.e., 1850-51] has forced us all into politics, and made it a

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paramount duty to seek what it is often a duty to shun. We do not breathe well. There is infamy in the air."

There had been other lessons. When Sumner was caned into unconsciousness on the Senate floor by Brooks of South Carolina, Emerson addressed the citizens of Concord: "Mr. Chairman, I sympathize heartily with the spirit of the resolutions. The events of the last few years and months and days have taught us the lessons of centuries. I do not see how a barbarous community and a civilized community can constitute one state. I think we must get rid of slavery, or we must get rid of freedom." And in the same year, 1856, he delivered another fighting speech at the Kansas Relief Meeting in Cambridge. Do the slaveholders speak of "Manifest Destiny" and "enlarging the area of freedom"? Fine names for an ugly thing: "They call it attar of rose and lavender—I call it bilge-water." And he who had scorned "means" now proposed that "the towns should hold town meetings, and resolve themselves into Committees of Safety, go into permanent sessions. . . ." His education reaches completion in his speeches at Boston and Salem defending John Brown, who, as he said, "believed in his ideas to that extent that he existed to put them all into action. . . . He saw how deceptive the forms are."

EMERSON welcomed the Civil War because, with all its uncertainties, it was "immensely better than what we lately called the integrity of the Republic, as amputation is better than cancer." The war brought personal hardship. In the first year, his books, which ordinarily yielded $500-$600 a year, did not earn him a penny. The Atlantic Bank had omitted its dividend; Mrs. Emerson's house in Plymouth paid nothing. He nevertheless welcomed personal sacrifice in the interest of victory. "My fortunes," he wrote his brother William on Jan. 21, 1862, "must repair themselves by a new book, whenever books again sell; &, if things come right again, by the return to payment of the unpaying properties. Meantime, we are all trying to be as unconsuming as candles under an extinguisher, and tis frightful to think how many rivals we have in distress & in economy. But far better that this grinding should go on bad & worse, than that we be driven by any impatience into a hasty peace, or any peace restoring the old rottenness." On another occasion he wrote: "We are all knitting socks & mittens for soldiers, writing patriotic lectures, and economizing with all our mights. No Christmas boxes, no New Years gift, this year to be offered by any honest party to any."

For the war hit home in peaceful Concord. Soon after the attack on Fort Sumter the village was alive with the departure of "our braves." Grief and pride ruled the hour. Forty-five volunteers left one day, but on the way recruits implored to join them, and they were sixty-four when they reached Boston. When young William Forbes—his future son-in-law—volunteered, Emerson wrote to Forbes' father: "I believe all wise fathers are coming to feel that they have no right to dissuade their sons from this career." His nephew Haven (father of Dr. Haven Emerson) left medical school to become a surgical dresser on a hospital boat; and Haven's brother Charles left Harvard to join the Seventh New York Regiment. Many boys whom Emerson remembered from their childhood died in battle; but their own devotion to the cause fortified one, and a "whole generation might well consent to perish, if, by their fall, political liberty & clean & just life could be made sure to the generations that follow."

THERE was much practical work to be done in the war years. Once it was a meeting at Chickering Hall in Boston to raise funds for equipping a Negro regiment under Robert Gould Shaw; Emerson spoke, and he subscribed money. Or it was a Concord fair to raise money for colored orphans. Or arranging to get a good turnout for a lecture by Moncure D. Conway, who was raising funds to distribute his antislavery book *The Rejected Stone* among soldiers in the camps. Or sending Walt Whitman letters of introduction to Seward, Chase, and Sumner. Or serving, at the request of War Secretary Stanton, as a member of the West Point visiting board. Or corresponding with influential friends in England with a view to overcoming anti-North machinations of the privileged classes.

Most important, of course, was the actual writing that Emerson did in these years. Like Harriet Stowe and Wendell Phillips among others, Emerson devoted much of his energy in the first two years of war to pressing the administration for an unequivocal proclamation of freedom for the slaves. We do not know if Lincoln heard Emerson's lecture on "American Civilization" at the Smithsonian Institute on Jan. 31, 1862; but the President and the first American writer of his day did exchange views on two successive days at the White House on this occasion. "The one power," Emerson declared in Washington, New York, Boston, "that has legs long enough and strong enough to wade across the Potomac offers itself at this hour; the one strong enough to bring all the civility up to the height of that which is best, prays now at the door of Congress for leave to move. Emancipation is the demand of civilization. That is a principle; everything else is an intrigue. This is a progressive policy, puts the whole people in healthy, productive, amiable position. . . . Again, as long as we fight without any affirmative step taken by the government, any word intimating forfeiture of the rebel states of their old privileges under the law, they and we fight on the same side, for slavery." Affirmative, bold, uncompromising steps toward freedom, Emerson said, anticipating our arguments against Darlanism and a shortsighted India policy, are urged on the country, "not by any romance of sentiment, but by her own extreme perils."

YET when Emancipation was proclaimed, no man was more ready to pay Lincoln the homage he deserved. In his address on the Emancipation Proclamation, Emerson said of Lincoln: "He has been permitted to do more for America than any other American man. He is well entitled to the most indulgent construction." For despite the obstacles in the President's way, his administration had been crowned with dazzling success. One of the major obstacles, Emerson noted, was "the unseasonable senility of what is called the Peace Party, through all its masks. . . ." But the irresistible dynamics of a people's war had "appointed the good generals, sifted out the pedants, put in the new and vigorous blood." Enthusiasm had proved to be a more potent ally than munitions. When you can use the thunderbolt, Emerson quoted Napoleon, you must prefer it to the cannon; and enthusiasm had been the thunderbolt. The element of morale, based as he correctly noted on morality, on the inherent rightness of the North's position in the war, had been decisive.

The writer and scholar today may take to heart Emerson's essay on "The Man of Letters," which he read before the literary societies of Dartmouth and Waterville Colleges in 1863. Emerson commented on the American habit of putting everything to practical use with frequently impractical results, so that a Napoleon, knowing the arts of war, might be put on picket duty, and a Linnaeus set to raising gooseberries and cucumbers because he was an excellent botanist. The scholar had his duty in America and in America at war; Emerson could not forgive him "his homeless despondency." For the scholar represents intellectual force and "A scholar defending the cause of slavery, of arbitrary government, of monopoly, of the oppressor, is a traitor to his profession. He has ceased to be a scholar. He is not company for clean people." Yet too many spiritual guides had been false to their trust. Too many writers had followed a wrong conception of their craft. "It is not enough," Emerson warned, "that the work should show a skilful hand, ingenious contrivance and admirable polish and finish; it should have a commanding motive in the time and condition in which it was made. . . . There is always the previous question, How came you on that side? You are a very elegant writer, but you can't write up what gravitates down."

THE war had brought Emerson into much closer relation to the people not only of this but of other countries. "We

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shall not again disparage America," he rejoiced, "now that we have seen what men it will bear." He commented on "the significant sympathy of the Manchester workmen" in contrast to the anti-democratic intrigues of various elements in British ruling circles. On a visit to a Pittsburgh forge, where he saw the casting of a 15 inch cannon, he observed: "Tis a wonderful spectacle, & one comes to look at every one in the crowd of workmen with vast respect." The war was restoring that "earthly consanguinity" which he had formerly renounced.

His education as writer and citizen had been profound, and he was now able to tell his audiences, in words that are terribly meaningful today:

"It is impossible to extricate oneself from the questions in which our age is involved. . . . The times are dark, but heroic. The times develop the strength they need. Boys are heroes. Women have shown a tender patriotism and inexhaustible charity. And on each new threat of faction, the ballot of the people has been unexpectedly right. But the issues already appearing overpay the cost. Slavery is broken, and, if we use our advantage, irretrievably. For such a gain, to end once for all that pest of free institutions, one generation might well be sacrificed. . . . Who would not, if it could be made certain that the new morning of universal liberty should rise on our race by the perishing of one generation—who would not consent to die?"

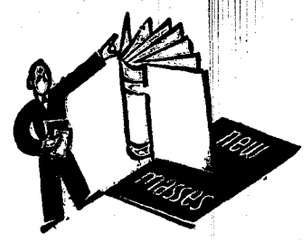
Emerson had truly discovered and revealed himself in the great national crisis. He learned, as we have had to learn; and he grew, as we have had to grow. This Emerson whom we never meet in the textbooks and anthologies had carried on the fight of Paine and Freneau and Jefferson. He means much to us as we fight once again for the entire future of the nation and of human freedom. In our own dark but heroic times his voice is clear, resolute, confident.

Books In Review

Negro Genius

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER, *by Mrs. Rackham Holt. Doubleday Doran, $3.50.*

THE feudal bourbons had denuded the forests and rich countryside. The earth could no longer hold the millions of tons of plant foods, for king cotton had long exhausted the soil nutrients. The one-crop system had yielded endless acres of wasteland and left a penniless, ill-housed, and ill-fed population. It is in this soil that Mrs. Rackham Holt places in sharp juxtaposition the purveyors of hatred and divisiveness against the ever unfolding creative genius of George Washington Carver.



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From this distinguished study of a great American emerges a quiet, simple man of science who wanted to live "to be of the greatest good to the greatest number of my people possible." Here is the story of the child born in slavery, of the young plant doctor with the "green thumb," and the scientist who "was not interested in a well-earned fortune, for he had no desire to help a rich corporation grow richer." Dr. Carver's work at Tuskegee was for humanity and he contributed his knowledge and research that man might prosper. This Negro savant taught the trinity of the soil, the plant, and animal kingdom, which utilized the things provided by nature, the rearrangement of materials based on industry, and the transformation of the materials for the protection and comfort of man.

As an agriculturist, he introduced the system of the rotation of crops in the south. He pioneered in the development of new industrial products from the sweet potato and the peanut. Indeed he took that miserable goober apart and separated the water, the oils, the fats, the resins, the gums, the sugars, the starches, and created more than 300 new products. His exhibits showed milks, creams, ice-cream fillers, wallboards, buttermilk, Worcestershire sauce from the peanut. The waste of many industrial products was abhorrent to him. Every root and fiber had its use and he created many products from them. From rotten sweet potatoes he made laundry bluing and color washes. From peanut shells, banana stems, and pine cones, he synthesized wallboards. He changed wood shavings into synthetic marble and produced paper from the prolific southern pine tree. Cotton linters were used for the reenforcement of asphalt roads.

He reintroduced and developed the Pompeian method for the dehydration of fruits and vegetables, which today is saving the United Nations valuable shipping space. Chemists look upon him as the father of chemurgy, the science which uses chemistry for the creation of new synthetics and plastics.

Under the helpful hand of a white teacher, Dr. Carver developed his talent for painting. His fine mycological specimens and wonderful still lifes won him the title "the black Leonardo." Some of his paintings were exhibited at the Columbian Fair Exposition and one of his studies was in demand by the gallery at Luxembourg.

The president and guiding genius of Tuskegee was Booker T. Washington. Here Carver learned to teach by doing. He created the traveling Jesup wagon, which was a movable school on wheels for the demonstration of home economics, balanced diets, rotation of crops, and the conservation of land and lumber. To bring the message of the proper use of the soils to his people, Dr. Carver lived in Jim Crow hotels and dirtier Jim Crow trains.

The southern industrialists were "grateful" to "Uncle Carver" for creating new fields for their exploitation. They published encomiums about him. They invited him to attend that distinguished gathering of business men, the United Peanut Association. However, he had to wait for these worthy gentlemen to finish their meal and then was brought to the room through the back door of the hotel. His testimony at congressional hearings about the value of the peanut enabled the poll-taxers to obtain high protective tariffs for their industry. He was hailed in many southern newspapers as a great man, but recently a paper reprinted his articles and "forgot" to list the author.

Despite membership in the Fellowship of the Royal Society of Great Britain, the winning of the Spingarn medal for distinguished achievement by a Negro, "liberal" histories like *The Rise of American Civilization* by Mary and Charles Beard and *The United States Since 1865* by Hacker and Kendrick fail to mention Dr. Carver. However, the world of agriculture knows and appreciates the work of this "wizard of agricultural chemistry." In a letter of recommendation, Prof. James G. Wilson, later Secretary of Agriculture in Theodore Roosevelt's administration, wrote, "with regard to plants he has a passion for them, in the conservatory, the garden, the orchard, and the farm. In that direction we have nobody who is his equal . . . in cross fertilization . . . and the propagation of plants, he is by all means the best student we have here. Except for the respect I owe the professors, I would say he is fully abreast of them, and exceeds in special lines in which he has a taste."

This book is an instrument for the elimination of the cordon sanitaire set up around the Negro people by the lynch lords of the South. We are indebted to Mrs. Holt, for she has "held up a mirror and helped make others of his race better understood by white men, who seldom look beyond the color of their skins to the living human being."

JAMES KNIGHT.

Italian-Americans

MOUNT ALLEGRO, *by Jerre Mangione. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.*

GOLDEN WEDDING, *by Jo Pagano. Random House. $2.50.*

THE Mount Allegro of Jerre Mangione's book is a very small part of Rochester, N. Y. The name was bestowed by the Sicilian immigrants who had transplanted themselves to a land where the climate, the morals, and the traditions seemed cruelly unlike those of their ancient home place. In Mount Allegro they had reestablished, in the firm bonds of family, fraternal, and cultural relationships, that ancient interdependence of the Sicilian folk, and thus presented what to the theorists of the Melting Pot must have seemed a

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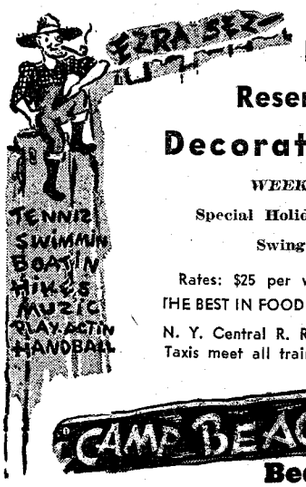

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The people of Mount Allegro we have never known well, and never known truly. For the Sicilians have been among the most maligned of immigrant groups, segregated and singled out as illiterates, near-pagans, or gangsters. Gerre Amoroso's father says, "It is bad for an Italian to commit a murder, but it is worse when a Sicilian does." There is a general belief that the Italians imported a special set of practices and habits in crime; and behind that idea often lies the vicious theory of criminal traits embedded in a specific and falsely localized physical type. In a number of tales and anecdotes with a strong "*Italianate*" flavor, Mangione shows that a respect for human decency is one of the best developed characteristics of his people. Crime, he notes, either in Palermo or Mount Allegro, has its roots in misery. In this generation, organized hostility to the Italian immigrant and discrimination of various sorts either kept their sense of alienation intact, or encouraged them to adjust themselves to the "American way" through the most practical acceptance of "dog eat dog" individualism. But within their own community there was a strict abhorrence of the kind of waywardness which would draw upon them the dubious correctives of the police.

Gerre Amoroso kept learning all the time of the differences between Mount Allegro and the strange exterior world of America. His parents, his uncles, and aunts merely sensed them, and chose, for the most part, not to investigate them. His Uncle Luigi spoke a kind of English which only a Sicilian could understand. Uncle Nino regarded himself as a transient; he had no proper business here, thus no reason for learning English. These uncles of his seemed to live in each other's kitchens; the progress of the year was marked by a succession of feasts, with daily sustenance from the ritual of visits, Sunday games of briscola, long evenings of conversation. Their fraternalism was almost tribal in its consecration to inter-family life. Their scorn, their ignorance, their aloofness were the rebuke to our cold curiosity; their adhesiveness, their warmth, their devotion to the family a sardonic comment on the most holy of American institutions, of which they were not even admitted to be a component.

Speaking for the children, Gerre Amoroso says, "We had to adjust ourselves to their world [the parents'] if we wanted any peace. . . . Most people, we realized as we grow older, were not Sicilians." Thus that other world, subtly insinuating new patterns of behavior, and sharpening uncomfortably his growing perception of the difference of Sicilian ways, had become his basic point of reference. What the course of his adjustment to American life was, Mr. Mangione, for the most part, has withheld from his reader in this book. *Mount Allegro* is largely about the parents' world; but the thing so far lacking in the

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meager literature about Italian-Americans is the book that presents the clashes in their whole social context, the places where the two worlds meet—in the factories, the schools, the city streets.

That, no doubt, is another book, one perhaps which Mr. Mangione will sometime write. But he does make clear that his own adjustment was made in a way which found a full place for his Italian heritage. This is something that many native Americans will observe with a mixture of wonder and envy. The long continuing torment of the pains from a cleavage with family and environmental past has been written on the pages of much of our contemporary literature, in one form or another. One of the happiest things about Mangione's experience is the absence of slow healing scars of resentment, of the sickly nostalgia that verges on nausea, of the frustration of understanding in being uprooted and finding no firm anchorage.

Mangione can say: "Separated though I was from my Sicilian relatives, my bond with them grew stronger through the years. . . . The memory of my life in Rochester gave me a *root* feeling, a sense of the past which I seemed to need to make the present more bearable."

So Mangione rejects the fictitious function of the Melting Pot to absorb or level off the cultural distinctions of immigrant nationalities. What America has offered is best shown by what the Sicilian who traveled the other way discovered about fascism. In his last two chapters Mangione explains his "welcome to Girgenti." And then he sees with his own eyes the barren promises of fascist order and efficiency, and hears, from his own relatives and friends, when they are beyond earshot of others, about the blight fallen on the land. "The people are unhappier than I ever remember them to be," a one-time resident of Mount Allegro tells him. "Every day I curse the moment I decided to leave America."

THOUGH *Mount Allegro* provokes serious reflections, it is not until one reads Jo Pagano's *Golden Wedding* that one begins to recall vividly the humor and warm-spirited gaiety of *Mount Allegro*, and to prize Mangione's wonderful store of anecdotes and sharp observations. *Golden Wedding* has been written in a single key, and a rather somber one at that. Mr. Pagano has a talent for quiet earnestness in story-telling. His story is a family chronicle, the facts apparently drawn without much alteration from the lives of his mother and father—from the time of his father's coming to America, to his golden wedding.

But what happens to Mr. Pagano's family—after the father has firmly planted himself in a career as a small businessman—has happened to countless American families in the same circumstances. What saves the book from the commonplace is the simple clarity and ease of its story-telling. Luigi Simone makes a facile transition from immigrant coal miner to Denver fruitstand owner, his wife providing the needed push to his ambition. The whole story shows that a sturdy, eager Italian can be tightly fitted into the familiar pattern of respectable middle class success.

Mr. Pagano's sense of difference in the Italian-American is mainly confined to such items as tables laden with food at marriage banquets, the inevitable teacher of the violin, and some scanty survivals of European customs. After coming from *Mount Allegro* such things affect one as local color. As a character study of two immigrants whose family was their whole concern, and who lived through the usual misfortunes and blessings of people of their class, this is a good sober story. Their golden wedding is a fitting celebration of their history, but, as a record of a family, the book has much less intrinsic interest than Mangione's *Mount Allegro*.

ALAN BENOIT

Brief Review

INTO THE VALLEY, *by John Hersey. Knopf. $2.*

READING this book provides a bridge between the home-front and its fighting battle-line which leads to a place that will be forever a chapter in our history. It helps make Guadalcanal more than just a name glibly spoken by us.

Into the Valley is not the heroic epic of a great battle. It is the quiet account of a small skirmish in an unimportant valley. It is a quiet account of how American marines live and die and fight for freedom in circumstances and under conditions created by a global war against fascism. "These were just American boys. They didn't want that valley or any part of its jungle. They were ex-grocery clerks, ex-highway laborers, ex-bank clerks, ex-schoolboys, boys with a clean record and maybe a little extra restlessness, but not killers."

John Hersey writes well and with a profound respect and a deep love of these Guadalcanal marines. Guadalcanal is their story, and vital battle or "unimportant skirmish," it is they who are writing its pages—in a glorious tradition. Vividly we see them as the regular guys they are. And like Hersey we feel a little bit like heels leaving them on Guadalcanal when we close the pages of the book.

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DRAMA'S GREATEST TEACHER

H. W. L. Dana describes the life and death of Nemirovich-Danchenko, founder and director of the Moscow Art Theater. His sixty years' contribution to drama and to his country.

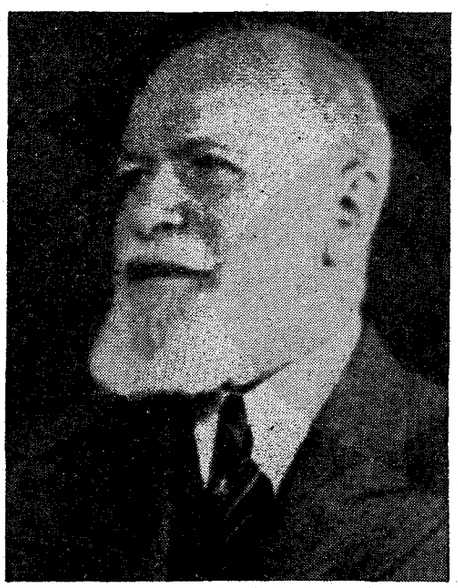
LAST month, on Easter Sunday, April 25, 1943, Russians who were taking their children to the Moscow Art Theater for a performance of Maeterlinck's *Blue Bird* noticed that the theater banners were at half mast. The director of what had become the greatest theater in the world had died earlier that same morning. Above the familiar sculptured portals, hung a wreath that had just been put up to decorate the inscription bearing his name—"NEMIROVICH-DANCHENKO."

Since the death of his co-director, Stanislavsky, five years ago, Vladimir Ivanovich Nemirovich-Danchenko had carried on the splendid traditions of the Art Theater and added new glories. Two months after Stanislavsky's death the theater, which they had founded together in 1898, celebrated its fortieth anniversary; during the ceremonies Nemirovich sat beside Stalin. In 1940 he directed the superb production of Leonov's *Orchards of Polavchansk* and Pogodin's *Kremlin Chimes*. He had then put on a new and very beautiful version of Chekhov's *Three Sisters*—the version which was being acted at the Moscow Art Theater on midsummer's night, June 21, 1941, on the very eve of the Nazi attack. On July 6 Nemirovich cabled to America a flaming message denouncing that invasion. He used all the resources of the great theater to mobilize the spirit of the Russian people's resistance and hammer out the spiritual instrument of victory. Later Stalin awarded him a state premium for his war services. In January 1942, during the siege of Moscow, Nemirovich supervised the famous company's evacuation from the capital and established them at a theater in Saratov on the Volga, farther away from the advancing German armies. And when the tide of battle turned, he brought the actors safely back to their beloved home theater in Moscow. There, on April 11, just two weeks before his own death, he gave the world premiere of Michel Bulgakov's *Last Days of Pushkin*.

NEMIROVICH-DANCHENKO died at the age of eighty-five, after devoting the greater part of a century to advancing the art of the theater and making it a powerful force in molding the minds of men. His life-long, patient, modest work has perhaps been somewhat obscured by the brilliant fame of his co-director. Stanislavsky's familiar figure in visible presence on the stage and all the echoes in America and elsewhere of Stanislavsky and the "Stanislavsky Method" eclipsed Nemirovich-Danchenko's less conspicuous labors behind the scenes. But the Russian people, if not the Americans, know the importance of that work; and Stanislavsky, in his autobiography, *My Life In Art*, pays a gracious and generous tribute to his collaborator and to his range and experience in the theater. He had long experience not merely as an actor, but as a playwright, a dramatic critic, a teacher of drama. Stanislavsky says: "It is seldom that all these qualities are met with in one person; but they met in Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko."

BORN in the Caucasus in 1858, in a small town at the eastern end of the Black Sea, the young Vladimir had begun as a little boy "with his toy stage on a broad Russian window sill." He had acted on amateur stages in Tiflis, in Rostov, in Moscow, though he never attained Stanislavsky's fame as an actor.

On the other hand, he had far more experience as a playwright than Stanislavsky. By the time they met in 1897, he had already written and produced thirteen plays: *The Wild Rose* in 1882, *Our Americans* in 1883, *The Dark Forest* and *Falcons and Ravens* in 1885, *The Evil Force* in 1886, *The Lucky Man* in 1887, *The Last Will* in 1888, *A New Undertaking* in 1890, *Gold* in 1895, *The Christmas Tree* in 1896, *The Value of Life* and *In Dreams* in 1897. Indeed during the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century, from Ostrovski's death to the successes of Chekhov, Gorky, and Andreev in the theater at the beginning of the twentieth century, Nemirovich was, as Stanislavsky says of him, "at that time the most popular and talented playwright in Russia."



Nemirovich-Danchenko

SOME of his plays anticipated the later realism of the Moscow Art Theater. If a part of the theory of realism was to remove the fourth wall of a house and let us see what was going on inside, in his very first play, *The Wild Rose*, produced way back in 1882 when he was only twenty-four years old, he represented at first the facade of a two-story house and then raised the wall and displayed the inside of the rooms. And this was forty-two years before the "innovation" in Eugene O'Neill's *Desire Under the Elms!* If another feature of realism was to appeal to all five senses—including the sense of smell—in his *Dark Forest* two years later, Nemirovich-Danchenko had the stage profusely sprinkled with Keller's essence of pine in order to give the illusion of a pine forest.

His best plays, by their social criticism of the futility of much of life in czarist Russia, anticipated Chekhov in many ways. The young Chekhov gladly paid tribute to him as "a genuine dramatist" and wrote him in 1895: "You have a great knowledge of life and practically every year you build your talent higher and higher."

Nemirovich-Danchenko in turn was the first to recognize Chekhov's genius as a dramatist. In the year 1897 his play *The Value of Life* and Chekhov's *The Sea Gull* were in competition for the same prize. When the award was given to Nemirovich's play, which had been a success he generously insisted that the prize be given to *The Sea Gull*, which had been a failure. It was he who urged that Chekhov's play should be given another and better production. Stanislavsky admits that he and many of the

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other actors failed at first to appreciate the possibilities of *The Sea Gull* and says that it was Nemirovich who talked them into undertaking it. As Stanislavsky says: "He could talk of a play so well that one had to like it before he was through." As all the world knows now, it was the production of *The Sea Gull* at the Moscow Art Theater which made both the play and the theater famous. Ever since that production the Moscow Art Theater has used the emblem of the sea gull on its curtains and on its programs.

Nemirovich-Danchenko, moreover, insisted on bringing out in all of Chekhov's plays those prophetic passages in which he foresees the hope of a better Russia for the coming generation—passages that have often been cut in the American travesties of Chekhov.

The same was true with the very different plays of Maxim Gorky. It was Nemirovich-Danchenko who suggested the present form of the title "Lower Depths," and it was to him and not to Stanislavsky that Gorky wrote: "I am indebted for half the success of this play to your mind and your art."

FEELING the need of a new theater to produce these plays of Chekhov and Gorky adequately, Nemirovich wrote to Stanislavsky, arranging that famous meeting at the Slavic Bazaar in Moscow on June 21, 1897. In good Russian fashion they talked eighteen hours at a stretch. Out of this midsummer night's dream came a masterpiece—the Moscow Art Theater. The gifts of the two men supplemented each other perfectly. Nemirovich supplied the background, the knowledge of world drama, the playwright's understanding; Stanislavsky, the actor's practical experience. Each was to have the last say in his particular field. As one entry in the minutes of that meeting put it: "The literary veto belongs to Nemirovich-Danchenko: the artistic veto to Stanislavsky."

This division of labor has often been misrepresented, and Huntly Carter says quite wrongly that Nemirovich handled only the "business side" and Stanislavsky the "spiritual side." Nothing could be more unfair. Even Stanislavsky's famous "Method" owes more to his collaborator than has been usually recognized. Nemirovich-Danchenko was a born teacher—as a matter of fact he began teaching at the age of thirteen and had continued for nearly three-quarters of a century. As director of the Moscow Philharmonic School he combined (1) a just interpretation of the plays, and (2) the discovery of the players' individual capacities. He believed in the actors' "rebirth." He would plant in them the emotional "kernel" of the character to be enacted. When the seed falls upon fertile soil there is a healthy "fermentation" and the seed itself dies and is forgotten. The actor imagines that he is acting spontaneously,

Mission of Sabotage

"THE whole atmosphere of the film conveys the impression that Soviet Russia is our ally in the same degree as Great Britain!"

It is not often that a saboteur gives himself away so maladroitly. Yet with this sentence in their letter to the New York Times of May 9, John Dewey and Suzanne La Follette reveal their true motive for protesting against "Mission to Moscow"—a determination to disunite the United Nations. In the strong light the sentence above casts, the pair's "artistic" and "historical" objections to the film are clearly seen as the lies and quibbles they are. They do not scruple to follow the New York Daily News line of berating the Soviet Union, casting doubts upon basic United Nations strategy, which is to crack the keystone of the Axis structure—Nazi Germany. Such words ought to earn their authors the Iron Double Cross.

The technique of their attack is intricate. Lie number one: the Soviet treason trials were unfair. Lie number two: Ambassador Davies' report of them was unfair. Lie number three: the film is unfair to the Davies report. Thus the pair have a threefold opportunity of confusing the reader, and they find it easy to twist a criticism of film technique into censure of the Soviet Union.

First lie: Dewey and La Follette declare that Trotsky's innocence was proved to "intelligent world opinion." Who proved it? Dewey and La Follette; in a whitewashing report some few years back. How did they controvert the mass of evidence the testimony of dozens of witnesses, in order to prove that Trotsky was innocent? Why, they asked him if he was; and he said yes. Their "Commission of Inquiry" was, as Arthur Upham Pope points out in a brilliantly logical letter to the New York Times of May 16, "without status, competence, or authority."

Also, Dewey and La Follette claim, the confessed conspirators sentenced at the trials were innocent. Proof? Their confessions implicated Trotsky. Alas, this cannot be; they must all be liars. Being liars, they have made false confessions, and are therefore innocent.

Surround this sort of logic with portentous allusions to the "terror" of Stalin that fills all Russian hearts, and with categorical denials that the appeasement policy ever existed, and you have the substance of the Dewey and La Follette attack on Russia.

Lie number two: an attack on Davies. The ambassador states in every mention of the trials in his book—in his diary, in letters, in his official reports made to Washington at the time—that he is firmly convinced of the guilt of the accused and that they have been considerately treated. He adds that the foreign correspondents and those diplomats who attended the trials agree with him. He stresses the prevalence of lying rumors, especially in the diplomatic world, which are being used to mislead the people of other countries. As the trials progress, he understands their implications better and better, until in the "Study in Hindsight" section of the book he shows the outbreak of war making it clear to him how important the German and Japanese contacts of the plotters were. By lifting legal discussions out of context, Dewey and La Follette hope to make it appear that Davies believed the trials frame-ups until the "Study in Hindsight" section; hoping no doubt that their readers will be too incurious to refer back to the text.

Lie number three: the film is declared unfaithful to the Davies book. Davies himself says it is not, but he's only the author. Dewey and La Follette snatch at the telescoping of the trials as a pretext for alleging misrepresentation; yet if the plotters were framed, as they declare, what matter whether they were framed on Tuesday or on Wednesday? "Mission to Moscow" falsifies no one's character; no one's deeds. Dewey and La Follette, unable to find such falsification, must take refuge in changes of trivial dates, and in the utter silliness of an objection that the film confessions are "obligingly delivered in English, since Mr. Davies knows no Russian." The ambassador had interpreters. Is it suggested that Warners should have made the film in Russian, for "fidelity," and supplied each movie house with a leather-lunged interpreter?

Their motivation is fully revealed when they end their letter by lachrymose references to the execution of Alter and Ehrlich. The association of Dewey and La Follette with groups whose publicly expressed intention is to exterminate the Soviet Union is itself sufficient to give the lie to their pretense that their beloved Trotsky and his pals had no such destructive intention.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

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and forgets how much he owes to the *regisseur*.

Take him all in all, Nemirovich-Danchenko was probably the greatest teacher of drama the world has ever known. Almost all the great Russian actors of the last half century studied under him—Kachalov, Moskvin, Meyerhold; Nazimova, Ouspenskaya, Chekhova. Of Olga Knipper Chekhova, the widow of Chekhov, Stanislavsky has said that it was under the guidance of Nemirovich that in her acting "something seemed to open in her soul."

So little of this great work is known in America that Oliver Sayler seems justified when he says of Nemirovich-Danchenko that "No one has been so thoroughly misunderstood in the Western World."

Another common mistake about Nemirovich-Danchenko is an overemphasis on his "aristocracy" which misrepresents his relation to the Russian Revolution and to the Workers' Republic. It was true that in 1886 he was married to a baroness, that he was long ago associated in the theater with Prince Sumbatov, that he was presented to Czar Alexander III and to the German kaiser. With his finely shaped head and his dignified square beard, he has been dubbed the "First Gentleman of the Contemporary Theater" and "A Grand Duke Incognito."

Yet, with his very success, he became more and more democratic. He sided with the struggling actors rather than with the rich men who exploited them. In his novel *A Drama Behind the Scenes*, published in 1896, his sympathies were clearly with a group of idealistic young actors trying to make headway against the intolerance and bigotry of those in power in the old Russia. In his next novel called *On the Steppes* and published in 1897, the year of his meeting with Stanislavsky, he took sides with those who till the soil rather than with the landed proprietors to such an extent that the czar's censor suppressed nearly half the book.

Chafing under the restrictions on the theater during the czarist regime and the fact that numerous passages in the works of Gorky and Tolstoy and even Chekhov and many foreign authors were censored as being "revolutionary," he longed for a revolution that would free the theater. With the coming of the Russian Revolution in 1917, then, he gladly welcomed the new opportunity. He said: "The Revolution has deepened our conception of art, making it more virile and stronger." He felt it had given him an inner "searchlight" by which he could see better the "social truth" of the plays, of the actors, and of the spectators. The realism of the Moscow Art Theater deepened into "socialist realism."

The Soviet government in turn gave his theater greater support than the theater had ever had before. He wrote: "We now are enjoying a security the like of which exists nowhere else in the world. We are refused nothing. We are told: work, create; if you need more money we will give it to you." Lenin said that if there was any one theater that should be preserved at all costs it was the Moscow Art Theater. Nemirovich was made a People's Artist of the USSR, given the Order of Lenin, and presented with a life pension.

During the years of experimentation in the theaters immediately after the Revolution, it was Nemirovich-Danchenko who in 1920 tried the innovation of extending the new methods of acting to the old operas. It was his Musical Studio which he founded in that year, far more than Stanislavsky's later Opera Studio, that inaugurated the idea of the "singing actor" and tried daring experiments such as the "synthetic stage" which he used in *Lysistrata* and *Carmencita and the Soldier*. He often rewrote the librettos so as to make them closer to the original stories on which they were based.

Both in the Moscow Art Theater and in his Musical Studio, it was Nemirovich-Danchenko who insisted that the younger actors should be given more and more say in the plays, productions, so that the theater became increasingly democratic and less autocratic. In spite of the current conception, chiefly outside of Russia, that the Moscow Art Theater was a "one man theater"—the "Theater of Stanislavsky"—it is clear that the authority was always divided equally between him and Nemirovich, and in course of time, especially after the Revolution, was shared by all the members of the company, even the younger ones. Had it been under the direction of one man alone, it might have petered out like Meyerhold's Theater in Moscow or Eva Le Gallienne's in New York. The fact that the Moscow Art Theater was basically democratic and not autocratic and that the directors were working not for their own glory, but were building for the future, is what gives it its permanent value and enduring quality as the greatest theater in the world today. Just as the Soviet Union did not die with the death of Lenin so the Moscow Art Theater will not die with the death of Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko. H. W. L. Dana.

Mrs. Tadlock's Boys

Irwin Shaw's "Sons and Soldiers" falls on its face.

Irwin Shaw's *Sons and Soldiers* (at the Morosco Theater) is a bad play. And it is an *embarrassingly* bad play because it pretends too hard to be lively, convincing, and profoundly philosophical when it is so obviously dull, stagey, and intellectually immature.

Mrs. Tadlock is pregnant in 1916; by 1942 she decides not to have the abortion which her physician had strongly advised if she wanted to live. The intervening years, which she has imagined in an inordinately prolonged trance, have proved to her that children are worth having despite their reluctance to do piano lessons, their proneness to fall in love with prostitutes, their tendency to be shot down over the Channel. Life is full of agony, but life is full of moments when life is worth living in a half-hearted sort of way. In a swamp of cynicism, Shaw finds a flickering light of not exactly hope but a kind of delusive tolerableness.

There are many many scenes in which Mrs. Tadlock's two trance-boys grow up. Some are less boring than others. Not all are as bad as the one in which the older boy and the prostitute dash up to the bedroom after being delayed by a vacuum-cleaner salesman; or as the one in which the prostitute (whom the doctor has deliberately married because she was a prostitute) holds forth on the subject of life; what is it? But they are all poor enough.

There are reasons for this failure. One is that Shaw has been sloppy merely from the craft point of view. Another is that he falls too easily into dramatic cliches that are all the worse for their pretense of originality. But the main reason, I think, is a sickly vision of life which makes a play that presumably started out to affirm life end up by casting doubt on the whole dismal enterprise of living. The play is drenched in a fundamental despondency, and this despondency is the reflection of an amazing inability to face, let alone to understand, reality. When Shaw begins to politicalize in this play he really demands too much of one's patience; his references to Communism and Russia are abjectly silly, and I for one would have spared the audience that sort of thing and left more time for the rather attractive muted-trumpet solo by the boy in the college dormitory.

Director, designer, and performers were handicapped. Max Reinhardt would appear to have wrestled conscientiously with a bad start, and the Bel Geddes designs are ingenious and lavish. Geraldine Fitzgerald is too hysterical as Mrs. Tadlock; Gregory Peck is ingratiating as the elder son; Stella Adler does good things with a part that commits her to gobs of ludicrous lines.

It is a great pity that the very promising

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young author of *Bury the Dead* has aged so prematurely. It would be a greater pity if he didn't get a good grip on himself. There is no broadway to salvation. All I can recommend is another good long look at people and at the real world in which these people live. There are too many dead things in Shaw that he seems unable to bury.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

'Assignment in Brittany'

A good wastebasket for some promising film material.

WHILE Hollywood produces unprecedented masterpieces of social comment, it also goes right on producing gaily decorated rubbish bins. *Assignment in Brittany* is the very nicest sort of rubbish bin, with all the decorations in reasonably good taste; it has a certain charm, and it is consistently pleasant to watch, and its pretty lighting is designed to flatter both your eye and the heroine's complexion. Although it purports to deal with a wartime subject fresh out of the headlines, there is nothing in the film to startle you awake.

Here we have the intelligence officer who just *happens* to be a double of someone in a key position in enemy territory; and who, replacing the other man, steals his girl. By way of originality, the hero of *Assignment in Brittany* steals two girls. One of them gets choked to death in time to avoid serious complications, however, and a good time is had by all in playing tag with the Nazis to destroy a submarine base. A few veridical touches are supplied by Nazi firing squads shooting down women and children; yet their butchery to make a glamour holiday so fiercely illuminates the film's essential unreality that you want to shoot the producer. The Gestapo man leers his way about Brittany in the manner of the unlamented Dr. Fu Manchu; and two fluffy little things like new-hatched chicks represent Lovely Woman.

Such interest as the film has is provided by Jean-Pierre Aumont in the leading role. Trained in the pre-war French cinema, Aumont does not let his considerable charm and good looks excuse him from an actor's duties; he is consistently alert and expressive, and his snarl as he fights a Nazi is a grimly convincing thing. But there is little anyone can do with the vague Nice Guy characterization written for the heroes of all romantic films. An indication of how good material is scrapped when it does not fit the formula may be found in the minor character Kerenor, a crippled schoolmaster with a blind passion for the film's bad girl. Here was the germ of a real story and a real character study. Any self-respecting narrator would have concentrated on Kerenor; but since he is not a conventional romantic lead, he is reduced to a flimsy apparition.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

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That formal stamp of approval has never been given William Gropper by the Pulitzer committee—though many besides ourselves have nominated him for it. Last week, for example, our contemporary, the New Republic, trying to penetrate the mysteries of the Pulitzer awards, wondered why Gropper had been consistently passed over. But then, NM's leading cartoonist doesn't require a laurel leaf from a committee: his fans number thousands of people, laymen and fellow artists, in America and abroad. He, even more than Britain's Low, is internationally known and loved.

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